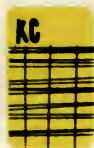


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PAUL A. F. WALTER

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FRANK T. CHEETHAM

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Address business communications to Mr. P. A. F. Walter, State Museum, Santa Fe, N. M.; manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be addressed to Mr. Bloom at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

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THE NEW MEXICO-CALIFORNIA CARAVAN OF 1847-1848

By JOHN ADAM HUSSEY

FOR AT least eighteen years—from 1830 to 1848—New Mexico and California were linked together by an organized caravan trade conducted chiefly by the New Mexican merchants of Santa Fé. This commerce was a natural extension of the already long-established New Mexican trading operations among the Indians of Utah.¹ It appears to have been tales of the fine horses and mules found in California by trappers who visited that territory in the wake of Jedediah Smith which drew attention to the new field of commercial enterprise. As early as 1827 Richard Campbell seems to have reached California from Santa Fé and returned with mounts destined for Louisiana.² Others were soon following in his footsteps.

So far as is known, the regular caravan trade with California began early in 1830 with the arrival at San Bernardino of a party of New Mexicans who had come by authority of Don José Antonio Chavez, governor of New Mexico, to secure mules in exchange for products of their own country.³

1. See Joseph J. Hill, "Spanish and Mexican Exploration and Trade Northwest from New Mexico into the Great Basin, 1765-1853," in *Utah Historical Quarterly*, III (January, 1930), [3]-23.

2. For the latest evaluation of the evidence regarding Campbell, see Alice Bay Maloney, "The Richard Campbell Party of 1827," in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XVIII (December, 1939), 347-354.

3. The diary of this expedition is printed in English, with some interesting speculations on the origin of the trade, in Archer Butler Hulbert, ed., *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail: the First Diaries on the Road to Santa Fé* ([Colorado Springs], The Stewart Commission of Colorado College; [Denver] The Denver Public Library [1933]), pp. 281-289.

Thereafter, parties of traders appear to have made the long and exhausting journey to the Pacific almost every year until 1848, when conditions resulting from the Mexican War and the Gold Rush seem to have ended the traffic.⁴

On the outward trip from Santa Fé, the pack saddles of the caravan carried mainly woolen goods—*serapes*, *fre-sadas*, and coverlets. Homeward bound, the traders brought horses and mules, with a few Chinese silk goods and other cloths. Almost invariably the herds of the returning caravans included numbers of illegally acquired animals. As a result, the trade was put under strict supervision by the authorities of both provinces as early as 1833, and this control was maintained throughout the entire life of the commerce. During the same period in which the organization and activities of the caravans were being regulated, their route of travel was being explored and becoming fixed. Within a very few years after 1830 the mule track through Utah and southern Nevada known as the "Old Spanish Trail" had become the habitual path of the traders.⁵

The story of this commerce has been written.⁶ The main features of the trade—the manner in which caravans were organized, the regulations to which they were subject, the types and amounts of goods they carried, how they looked on the trail—all these aspects are known in a more or less detailed manner. There exist, however, many gaps in the picture. For instance, there are years for which information on the caravans is non-existent or of the most

4. Travel and commerce between New Mexico and California, even by the "Old Spanish Trail," by no means ended in 1848. Emigration to the California mines and a brisk trade in cattle and sheep strengthened the link between the two regions, but there seems to be no record of caravans of the old type after that date.

5. See Joseph J. Hill, "The Old Spanish Trail," in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, IV (August, 1921), 444-473.

6. Eleanor Frances Lawrence, *The Old Spanish Trail from Santa Fé to California* (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1930). A part of this valuable thesis has been published under the title of "Mexican Trade between Santa Fé and Los Angeles, 1830-1848," in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, X (March, 1931), 27-39. See also the same writer's article, "Horse Thieves on the Spanish Trail," in *Touring Topics*, vol. XXIII, no. 1 (January, 1931), p. 22; and Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (2 vols., Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1912), II, 142-144.

fragmentary character. There is no complete account of the appearance, number, goods, and activities of the caravan for any one year. In particular, certain aspects of the operations of the traders of 1847-1848 have been misunderstood because sufficient information upon which to base proper conclusions has been lacking.

With the transfer of the bulk of the older War Department records to the National Archives, documents have been made available which help to fill these gaps. Among the correspondence of the United States Army officers in California for the years 1847 and 1848 have been found letters and orders which throw new light upon the composition and activities of the last New Mexican trading caravan known to have made the long trip from Santa Fé to the Pacific. From these manuscripts and other sources can be constructed what is probably the most complete account of the trade for any single year. It seems worthwhile, therefore, in the light of this new evidence, to re-tell the story of the caravan which reached California during the last month of 1847.

In December of that year, California was under the control of the armed forces of the United States. With Monterey as his capital, Colonel Richard B. Mason occupied the position of governor and commander-in-chief of the troops in the territory. In charge of the Southern District of California, with headquarters at Los Angeles, was Colonel Jonathan D. Stevenson of the New York Volunteers. Although all serious resistance to the American conquest of California had been stamped out in January, the military authorities had been kept continually uneasy throughout the year by rumors of threatened outbreaks on the part of the conquered populace. During December there was a flurry of these alarms, most of them being connected with the presence in the territory of a number of visitors from the Mexican state of Sonora. How seriously these rumors were taken by the government is revealed by the fact that on December 27, Colonel Mason issued a proclamation re-

quiring all Sonoreños in California to appear before the military authorities within a specified period or to be treated as enemies.⁷

Under these circumstances, Colonel Stevenson was somewhat disconcerted when, early in December, a New Mexican arrived in Los Angeles and announced that he had come in advance of the rest of his party, some 225 of his countrymen, well armed, who were approaching California to trade as had been their custom for long past. The prospect of having such a large body of Mexicans roaming about the territory with weapons in their hands was not one which the military authorities could view with equanimity. Furthermore, Colonel Stevenson was perplexed as to whether or not duties should be collected on the goods brought in by the New Mexicans. As a war measure, the United States had placed heavy imposts upon imports into the occupied areas of Mexico and upon goods transferred by sea from one occupied port to another.⁸ However, in these regulations and in the modifications of them issued by the military and naval commanders for California, the status of overland commerce was not made clear.⁹ Thus Stevenson found himself without definite instructions to cover the case at hand. In his dilemma, he decided to refer the matter to Governor Mason.¹⁰

Meanwhile, to intercept the caravan before its members should have scattered to commence their barter, Stevenson

7. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (7 vols., San Francisco, 1884-1890), V, 583-585.

8. U. S., 30th Cong., 1st Sess., House Ex. Doc. no. 8, pp. 552-589.

9. As a matter of fact, internal duties on the transfer of goods from one occupied department to another had been abolished by the United States in March, 1847, but this fact evidently was not understood by the authorities in California. *Ibid.*, p. 587. For further details regarding customs duties see U. S., 31st Cong., 1st Sess., House Ex. Doc. no. 17, pp. 406-407, 422-425; and the authorities cited in Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 571-574.

10. Jonathan D. Stevenson to John Wynn Davidson, Los Angeles, December 7, 1847; Stevenson to Richard Barnes Mason, Los Angeles, December 14, 1847, in U. S. War Department, Adjutant General's Office, 10th Military Department, Miscellaneous Letters and Orders File (MSS in Division of War Department Archives, the National Archives, Washington, D. C.; and hereinafter cited as A. G. O., 10th Mil. Dept., Misc. Letters and Orders File).

dispatched Lieutenant John W. Davidson,¹¹ of the First United States Dragoons, with Stephen C. Foster¹² as interpreter and sixteen dragoons as escort, to meet the traders at the Cajon Pass, the chief natural gateway through the mountains which separate the Mojave Desert from the coastal region of Southern California. Davidson was ordered to inform the New Mexicans that they were to proceed directly to the military post at Los Angeles and there deposit their arms. In addition, the merchants were to place their goods in "some safe and convenient place at this Post where a sentinal can be placed over them," until Mason's decision regarding the duties should be known. Upon hearing from the governor, the members of the caravan were to be free to trade "under the customary regulations of the country." If the New Mexicans required a more prompt communication with Mason than was afforded by the ordinary mail, they were to be at liberty to send an express to Monterey. In case of a refusal on the part of the chief men of the caravan to comply with these conditions, Davidson was told, "you will notify them that they will be regarded as enemies and their goods confiscated wherever found."¹³

Lieutenant Davidson reached his assigned post on December 10.¹⁴ His first contact with the approaching New Mexicans is described by the following communication which he directed to Colonel Stevenson from the "Pass of the Cahoon" on Sunday, December 12, 1847:

11. John Wynn Davidson, a native of Virginia, graduate of the United States Military Academy, and at this time a second lieutenant, 1st U. S. Dragoons. For further details see Francis Bernard Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army from its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903* (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1903), I, 355-356.

12. Stephen Clark Foster, a native of Maine, born in 1820, a graduate of Yale, a physician in Missouri, and a trader in New Mexico and Sonora. He came to California as interpreter with the Mormon Battalion. He was appointed first alcalde and juez de paz of Los Angeles on December 10, 1847, by Governor Mason. Although mentioned only as "Dr. Foster" or "Forster" in the documents upon which this article is based, there can be no doubt but that Stephen Foster was the man who accompanied Lieut. Davidson to the Cajon. For more biographical details see Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 745.

13. Stevenson to Davidson, Los Angeles, December 7, 1847, in A. G. O., 10th Mil. Dept., Misc. Letters and Orders File.

14. Davidson to Stevenson, Los Angeles, December 15, 1847, *ibid.*

Sir.

I have the honor to report to you as follows. This morning arrived in my camp Juan Ignacio Martinez, one of the principal men of the N. M. Caravan, and empowered to act for the whole. The instructions you gave me were read and explained to him. His party will arrive here tomorrow afternoon. He objects to marching to Los Angeles with his merchandise, his animals are completely broken down, and the embargo upon his goods until the decision of the Governor be known deprives him of the means to procure fresh ones to move in. His reasons appear to me just. I have therefore given him permission to go in and see you personally, and make what arrangements may seem best to you as I have no discretion left me by your orders. In the mean time he leaves orders that no sales be made until your decision be known to me, and I shall await here your orders on the subject.¹⁵

Without delay, Martinez pushed on into Los Angeles to make his appeal to the commander of the Southern District.¹⁶ How he fared is told by the following extract from a letter written by Colonel Stevenson to Governor Mason on December 14:

The N. Mexican Juan Ignacio Martinez spoken of by Lieut. Davidson has come in and been recognized by Lieut Carson¹⁷ as a staunch and unwaver-

15. A. G. O., 10th Mil. Dept., Misc. Letters and Orders File.

16. On his visit to the authorities, Martinez was accompanied by his brother-in-law, John Rowland, well-known resident of the Los Angeles area and one of the leaders of the Rowland-Workman party of 1841. Before coming to California, Rowland for some eighteen years had resided in New Mexico, where he had married Encarnación Martinez. Stevenson to Davidson, Los Angeles, December 13, 1847, in Jonathan D. Stevenson, "Letter Book, to February, 1848" (MS in New York Historical Society, New York City), pp. 336-337; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 705; Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California, 1853-1913*, edited by Maurice H. and Marco R. Newmark (3rd ed., Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930), p. 91, note a.

17. The famous frontiersman and resident of New Mexico, Christopher Carson, had been commissioned a second lieutenant, Regiment of Mounted Riflemen, U. S. A., by President Polk on June 9, 1847. Edwin Legrand Sabin, *Kit Carson Days, 1809-1868* (Revised ed., 2 vols., New York: The Press of the Pioneers, Inc., 1935), II, 571. Carson arrived at Los Angeles, after a trip overland from Washington, in late October or early November, 1847. After taking his orders to Monterey, Carson was directed, in November, to return to Los Angeles and recruit his men and animals for mountain duty. On December 27, 1847, he was assigned to temporary duty with

ing friend of the American Authorities at Tows [sic] and at the time of the outbreak at that place,¹⁸ saved the lives of Americans at the peril of his own, and such I am advised is the character of all of the chief men of the Caravan, they have all Passports and a guarantee of safe conduct signed by Lt Col Alf. [sic] R. Easton Com'd'g at Santa Fé.¹⁹ The small quantity of goods they have has about 80 owners, many single mule loads having two, and in some cases three owners, and they were induced to come here under the promise of kind treatment and an assurance that their goods would be admitted free of duty, the caravan is composed generally of poor men who have purchased their goods and outfit upon credit to be paid for upon their return home. They regard themselves as American citizens and said they would rather leave the country than violate any laws or regulations of the American Authorities. Under these circumstances and the strong evidence I have of their friendly disposition towards the American Authorities I have authorized Lieut Davidson to make the following arrangements with them. "The goods to be valued at their cost in New Mexico, and a bond executed by the most responsible and chief men of the caravan to pay at Los Angeles on the 1st day of April 1848, a duty of 20 pr cent upon such valuation in case the Governor shall require it." If they should accept these terms I am assured by Carson

Company C, 1st Dragoons, stationed at Los Angeles. A. G. O., 10th Mil. Dept., "Letter Book, March-December, 1847," pp. 210-211; A. G. O., 10th Mil. Dept., "Order Book, February-December, 1847" (MSS in Division of War Department Archives, the National Archives), pp. 166-167.

18. The reference is to the rising of the Indians and Mexicans against the American authorities at Taos and the surrounding area in January, 1847. Governor Charles Bent and a number of Americans and loyal Mexicans were killed during the revolt. See Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888* (San Francisco, 1889), pp. 432-434; and Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The History of the Military Occupation of the Territory of New Mexico from 1846 to 1851* (Denver, 1909), pp. 122-139.

19. Evidently Alton R. Easton, colonel of the 1st Missouri Volunteer Infantry which served at Matamoras during the summer of 1846 and lieutenant colonel and commander of the Battalion of Missouri Volunteer Infantry which formed a part of Sterling Price's forces in New Mexico and northern Mexico during parts of 1847 and 1848. V. G. Setser (Acting Chief, Division of Reference, the National Archives) to J. A. Hussey, Washington, D. C., March 29, 1940 (typewritten letter in possession of the writer).

that any bond they sign will be paid, as he recognizes a few names among the leaders who are responsible. I have fixed the 1st of April as the day of payment for the reason that they are to be assembled on that day at the Cajon Pass to take up their line of march for New Mexico.

I am advised by a reliable source, that since they came into the country, offers of aid and support have been held out to them to resist my authority, all of which they promptly rejected, and I shall have the assurance of all the leaders, that they will not only use all their influence to prevent any of their people being engaged in an insurrection, but will give me the earliest notice of any such scheme that may come to their knowledge.

From all I can learn of the history and character of these people I would respectfully suggest that their goods be admitted free of duty if you have the power to so order it.²⁰

Meanwhile, on December 13, the caravan had arrived at the Cajon Pass and gone into camp. Lieutenant Davidson found the traders to be an organized body under the command of Francisco Estevan Vigil.²¹ The organization, however, was only for the road. The entire company numbered 209, of whom fifty were boys under sixteen.²² Among them the New Mexicans had about sixty firearms, "mostly in bad condition." The bulk of the party was equipped with bows and arrows. Their goods, exclusively products of

20. A. G. O., 10th Mil. Dept., Misc. Letters and Orders File. Stevenson told Davidson that he had made the terms easy "under a full impression" that no duties would be charged by Mason. Stevenson to Davidson, Los Angeles, December 13, 1847, in Stevenson, "Letter Book, to February, 1848," pp. 336-337.

21. The name of the leader is also given as Juan and José E. Vigil at different places in the various documents cited in this article, but the form Francisco Estevan Vigil appears most frequently and with best authority. Francisco Estevan Vigil had long participated in the New Mexico-California trade. As early as 1841 he was the commander of a caravan. Francisco Estevan Bifil [sic] al prefecto de los Angeles, Rito de Quintana, October 19, 1841, in "San Diego Archives" (MS in the Bancroft Library, University of California), p. 279.

22. Certain information sent to Governor Mason seems to have given the composition of the party as "212 persons of whom about 60 were boys." Mason to Roger Jones, Monterey, February 1, 1848, in A. G. O., 10th Mil. Dept., "Letter Book, January-February, 1848," pp. 43-47. It was probably through Mason that this same information was given to the public press. *The Californian* (San Francisco, California), December 29, 1847.

New Mexico, were carried by 150 or 160 pack mules and were estimated to have a first cost value of from \$8,000 to \$10,000. Between seventy and eighty men were named as being owners of merchandise, but there were "as many more interested in the concern." The greatest amount of property owned by any one trader did not exceed "three or four hundred dollars, monied value." Interpreter Foster noted that the company had suffered much from cold and snow on the trip.²³

Like Martinez, the traders protested vigorously when told by Davidson of the terms upon which they were to be admitted into the country. They said that "they considered themselves as *American Citizens*, and that the American government would be breaking its faith with them, should duties be levied on their goods, and that they were poor, had had a long journey and such duties would be ruinous in the extreme." In vain did Davidson try to pacify them by explaining that their goods were simply to be placed on deposit until the governor's decision should be known. The New Mexicans stated that they would leave their goods, "the whole cargo, in Los Angeles, and go back and reclaim from the American government the damage sustained by them in the trip."²⁴

In a report to Colonel Stevenson dated at Los Angeles, December 15, Lieutenant Davidson describes his solution of the difficulty. He wrote:

Matters remained thus until the morning of the 14th, when I received fresh instructions from you by my messenger, and a delegation of power from you, as I was on the spot to make such arrangements [*sic*] with them as were least burdensome and [would] at the same time command respect from them for the American Authorities.

23. The description of the caravan contained in this paragraph is based upon two letters: Stevenson to Mason, Los Angeles, December 14, 1847; Davidson to Stevenson, Los Angeles, December 15, 1847, in A. G. O., 10th Mil. Dept., Misc. Letters and Orders File.

24. Davidson to Stevenson, Los Angeles, December 15, 1847, in A. G. O., 10th Mil. Dept., Misc., Letters and Orders File.

Thus empowered, I inspected their camp and found their arms but sufficient to protect their property on the road and, besides, useless. Assured of their friendliness to us and of their Americanism, I allowed them to retain their arms.... I exacted from them a list of the owners of the caravan... and of the goods they brought, and a security from their leader, Vigil, that this was correct and given in good faith, so that *should* the decision be made by the Governor that duties be paid by these people on their goods, when they assemble as is their custom about the month of April to return to N. Mexico, at the Cahon [*sic*] pass, the collection of these duties can then be enforced.²⁵

Lieutenant Davidson stated that he was moved to make this determination because the New Mexicans had come under the impression that, as Americans, they would have no duties to pay and because they carried a safeguard from the military commander at Santa Fé. "Besides," he said, "they appear a poor miserable collection of people, manifesting every friendly disposition towards us." Thus, without requiring a bond but after telling the merchants that each was individually responsible for his amount of duties if payment were ordered, and after assuring them of the friendly feelings of the California authorities, the lieutenant gave the New Mexicans permission to disperse and commence their trade with the people of the country.²⁶

Nearly two weeks later Colonel Mason signified his qualified approval of what had been done in the case of the caravan. Through his acting assistant adjutant general, the governor remarked to Colonel Stevenson that the arrival of "so large a body of men partly armed is at least suspicious & although their avowed purpose is that of trade, their presence here affords to the discontented of the country a hope of aid, & thereby tends to disturb the peace & quiet of

25. A. G. O., 10th Mil. Dept., Misc. Letters and Orders File. For the sake of clarity, some of the punctuation of the original letter has been modified in the extract.

26. Davidson to Stevenson, Los Angeles, December 15, 1847, in A. G. O., 10th Mil. Dept., Misc. Letters and Orders File. Davidson's list of traders and their goods has not yet been found among the records of the War Department.

the country." Mason was unimpressed by the traders' statement that they had been assured by the authorities in Santa Fé that no duties would be collected on their goods in California. "It can hardly be believed that any such assurances were given them," he wrote, since the president's regulations for trade in the occupied areas of Mexico must have been known at Santa Fé before the departure of the caravan.

Nevertheless, in consideration of the facts which had caused Colonel Stevenson to relax his first restrictions on the traders and, in particular, "on account of their poverty & the distress that would be occasioned to them by the payment of duties," Governor Mason consented to allow the merchants to remain in California and to conduct their trade upon certain conditions. He specified that a number of the principal men of the caravan were to enter into a joint bond for a sum equal to a duty of twenty per cent of the value of their goods, this bond to be endorsed if practicable by two or more men of Los Angeles and made payable on or before the first day of April, 1848. The New Mexicans were to deposit their arms with Colonel Stevenson before dispersing to trade. They were to re-assemble at the Cajon Pass on or before the next first of April and were to be beyond the Colorado River before the fifteenth day of the same month. On the other hand, if, during their stay in California, the merchants acted in good faith and in no manner violated any of the laws of the country, their bond would be returned "free of any charge whatever." But if any members of the caravan were concerned in any way in any outbreak or disturbance, the payment would be exacted and the persons and property of the whole party would be "made answerable for any injury done."²⁷

27. William Tecumseh Sherman to Stevenson, Monterey, December 27, 1847, in A. G. O., 10th Mil. Dept., "Letter Book, March-December, 1847," pp. 239-241. It is interesting to note that in a later letter to the adjutant general, Mason gave as reasons for not imposing a duty the following: "that they were already in the country according to an old Mexican custom, which exemp[ted?] them from the payment of duty; they were poor & friends and to exact from them an unexpected tax would excite public animosity towards us, more detrimental to our interests than the loss of so small a sum." Mason to Jones, Monterey, February 1, 1848, in A. G. O., 10th Mil. Dept., "Letter Book, January-February, 1848," pp. 43-47.

Records do not reveal whether or not this bond was actually exacted. It may not have been, since by the time Mason's order reached Los Angeles the traders probably were pretty well scattered.

As early as December 22, some of the blankets and other goods brought by the caravan had been sold to merchants of the Los Angeles area who, in turn, planned to ship them to ports in northern California for re-sale. Colonel Stevenson directed the collector at San Pedro to see that the goods were invoiced as of Mexican manufacture so that the proper duties would be charged upon them at Monterey or San Francisco.²⁸ In February, Governor Mason reported that several of the New Mexicans had been up as far as Monterey, "trafficking [*sic*] blankets." They appeared, he stated, "quiet & well disposed."²⁹

When April 1, 1848—the day set for the traders to gather at the Cajon Pass—arrived, the party was still in the process of assembling in the region of Los Angeles. The authorities seem to have exerted no pressure to force them to leave on the appointed date, possibly because of their good behavior while in the territory. The conduct of the men of the caravan had been "unexceptional," Governor Mason admitted. "They have been scattered," he wrote to the commanding officer at Santa Fé, "& have traded with the people of the country, exchanging their blankets and serapes for horses & mules, large bands of which they design bringing back to Santa Fé."³⁰

On the third of April, Vigil and Juan Ygnacio Morsine [Martinez?], as commanders of the caravan, wrote to the alcalde of Los Angeles informing him that the party would leave for New Mexico on the fifteenth, on which date they were all required to be assembled at San Bernardino. The leaders asked the alcalde to advise "the Colonel"—evidently

28. Steevnson to David W. Alexander, Los Angeles, December 22, 1847, in Stevenson, "Letter Book, to February, 1848," p. 345.

29. Mason to Jones, Monterey, February 1, 1848, in A. G. O., 10th Mil. Dept., "Letter Book, January-February, 1848," pp. 43-47.

30. [Mason] to Commanding Officer at Santa Fé, Monterey, April —, 1848, in A. G. O., 10th Mil. Dept., "Letter Book, February-May, 1848," pp. 50-51.

Stevenson—of the fact in order that they might be helped to get munitions, since none could be obtained in the stores.³¹

To supervise the departure of the New Mexicans, Colonel Stevenson ordered Lieutenant George Stoneman³² of the First Dragoons to the Cajon. The caravan was allowed to leave without being required to pay any duty, but the traders were warned that upon all future imports by land "a duty equal to that charged on goods imported by sea" would be charged unless otherwise ordered by the Treasury Department.³³

Also, in accordance with a practice of long standing, the civil authorities took measures to see that no illegally acquired horses or mules were spirited out of the country in the herds of the caravan. First Alcalde Stephen C. Foster of Los Angeles directed twenty men to accompany the "proper authorities" to the customary examination of the animals of the New Mexicans. After the inspection, which was to take place as the traders "went out," the men were to accompany the caravan for "some distance on the road." For the use of this party of citizens, 400 cartridges were sent to Lieutenant Stoneman to be issued as the patrolling force rode out from the Cajon into the desert.³⁴

The departure of the New Mexicans was described by Lieutenant Stoneman. On April 31 he reported from Los Angeles to the Commander of the Southern District as follows:

31. Vejil [sic] y Juan Ygno Morsine [Martinez?] al Alcalde 1º y Juez de 1ª Instancia, Los Angeles, April 3, 1848, in "Departmental State Papers, Angeles" (MSS in the Bancroft Library), VIII, 77.

32. George Stoneman, a native of New York, a graduate of the United States Military Academy, and at this time a second lieutenant in the 1st Dragoons. For more details see Heitman, *op. cit.*, I, 930.

33. Stevenson to Mason, Los Angeles, May 3, 1848, in A. G. O., 10th Mil. Dept., Misc. Letters and Orders File. As a further precaution against a repetition of the misunderstandings which marked the arrival of the caravan, Mason sent a letter by Kit Carson to the commanding officer at Santa Fé, warning him that it was not prudent to allow such large bodies of men to enter California and stating that in the future a tariff would be exacted upon all imports from New Mexico. [Mason] to Commanding Officer at Santa Fé, Monterey, April —, 1848, in A. G. O., 10th Mil. Dept., "Letter Book, February-May, 1848," pp. 50-51.

34. Foster to Mason, Santa Barbara, April 20, 1848, in A. G. O., 10th Mil. Dept., Misc. Letters and Orders File.

Sir,

Agreeable to instructions, I have the honor to report the following facts and circumstances, in regard to the performance of the duties assigned to me at the "pass" in the mountains called the "Cajon"—

Agreeable to orders S. no 23, dated South. M. Dist. Cal. March 24th 1848, I repaired to the "pass," and received [*sic*] Lieut C. Carson in the duties at that place—³⁵

On the second of April I received an order from Capt. Smith³⁶ to repair to this "Post"—in order to perform the duties of Judge Advocate of a Military Commission, to convene on the 3rd March [April]. This duty detained me 12 days—at the expiration of which time, I returned to the "pass." On the morning of the 23rd March [April], the sentinal, whom I kept posted on the top of a high Hill—overlooking the country, gave information that several bands of animals were approaching, when I immediately sent a Corporal and Four Men up the "pass" about six miles, to a very narrow place, with orders not to permit a man or beast to pass, without permission from me—on the 23rd an American by the name of Goodyear³⁷ arrived, with 231 animals & 4 men—the animals I inspected and by authority gave him a passport—to pass out—The next day I inspected the drove of Horses belonging to a Frenchman by the name of Le Tard [?]³⁷—he had 225 animals and 3 men with him—received a passport and went out.

On the 25th I began to inspect the animals belonging to the New Mexicans, and finished on the

35. This notation throws new light upon Carson's activities during the winter of 1847-1848, as Carson himself merely states that he was stationed at the Tejon Pass during a part of this period. Christopher Carson, *Kit Carson's Own Story of His Life as Dictated to Col. and Mrs. D. C. Peters about 1856-57*, edited by Blanche C. Grant (Taos, N. M., 1926), p. 87.

36. Andrew Jackson Smith, captain, 1st U. S. Dragoons.

37. Miles Goodyear, well-known mountain man, who, with his brother Andrew, was embarking on one of the most remarkable horse-trading ventures ever recorded. These animals were driven to Missouri. No profitable market being found there, Goodyear turned about and, in 1849, brought them back to California, where the Gold Rush had created a demand for horses. It is said that the mountaineer made a profit on the venture. See Charles Kelly and Maurice L. Howe, *Miles Goodyear, First Citizen of Utah, Trapper, Trader and California Pioneer* (Salt Lake City: privately printed for the authors by the Western Printing Company, 1937), pp. 96-109.

26th—The party consisted of 209 men, and one woman—having with them 4628 animals—I took from the American one mare—not legally vented—and from the New Mexicans, 33 animals with the brand of San Bonaventura [*sic*], 2 Government Horses, and 10 not legally vented—on the 27th the New Mexicans began to go out, and I in order to arrive at this Post in time for muster, was compelled to leave on the 28th, arriving here on the 29th. A party, under the command of Ricardo Bejar,³⁸ and organized by order of the alcalde at Los Angeles, was left to follow the New Mexicans on the road, for the purpose of preventing any irregular proceedings.³⁹

With pardonable pride, Colonel Stevenson reported the results of the supervision of the homeward bound traders. "I believe this is the first time in the History of California," he wrote to Governor Mason, "that a Mexican caravan has departed, without taking with them a large amount of stolen animals—not one passed out with them on this occasion—and as they will be followed twenty days by a party of 20 Mounted Californians and two Juezs [*sic*] de Campo's, who are ordered to prohibit all trade with the Indians, 'tis not probable the people of the Country will loose [*sic*] an animal."⁴⁰

On May 4, Kit Carson, with Lieutenant George Douglas Brewerton and a small party of men, left the vicinity of Los Angeles for the United States. The first link of their journey was over the Old Spanish Trail, and after about eight days of travel in the desert they overtook the New Mexican caravan. Brewerton has left a lively and well-known description of the motley cavalcade and of the man-

38. Ricardo Véjar, a *ranchero* of the Los Angeles area. See Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 761.

39. A. G. O., 10th Mil. Dept., Misc. Letters and Orders File.

40. Stevenson to Mason, Los Angeles, May 3, 1848, in A. G. O., 10th Mil. Dept., Misc. Letters and Orders File. On May 16, 1848, Stevenson wrote to Mason from Los Angeles, reporting that the twenty men charged with following the New Mexicans had performed that duty "most faithfully," had returned their arms to Alcalde Foster, and had returned to their homes "some days since." A. G. O., 10th Mil. Dept., Misc. Letters and Orders File.

ner in which the traders pitched their nightly camp. After sojourning near the New Mexicans for a night, Carson and his party pushed ahead. History seems to provide no further glimpse of the merchants and their *caballada*.⁴¹

With the disappearance of the caravan of 1847-1848 into the desert stretches of the Old Spanish Trail, the story of the New Mexican commerce between Santa Fé and Los Angeles comes to an end. If the number of horses and mules collected is a reliable index, the trade of this last year must have been one of the most prosperous in the history of the traffic, but forces beyond the control of the simple merchants of Santa Fé took away their livelihood at the moment when it seems to have been most remunerative.

41. George Douglas Brewerton, "A Ride with Kit Carson," in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, VII (August, 1853), 306-334. Brewerton's entire account of his journey to the United States, first published in various numbers of *Harper's*, has been edited by Stallo Vinton and published in book form under the title *Overland with Kit Carson; a Narrative of the Old Spanish Trail in '48* (New York and Chicago: A. L. Burt Company, 1930).

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE NAVAHO, 1883-1888

By FRANK D. REEVE

THE dismissal of Galen Eastman¹ as Navaho agent, after a hectic career, was foreseen by interested parties who early sought the appointment. The prize fell to D. M. Riordan, a California politician and Civil War veteran residing in Arizona at the time for reasons of health, who became interested in reports of mineral wealth in the Navaho country and sought the job as agent. Eastman had reported that "Some excitement has occurred within the past three months, growing out of prospecting and finding of mines in the almost unexplored country lying northwest of this reservation. . . ."² The future agent was representative of this excitement, partly in his own behalf and partly in the interest of Governor F. A. Tritle of Arizona. "I would like to get the place. Not as an end but as a means," Riordan wrote; that is, to "have unrivalled facilities for seeing them [mining discoveries] but I don't want to express those reasons in Washington, for obvious reasons."³

Fortunately,

Comrade Riordan's political record is clean & he has always been a good worker. He was a member of the 4th Congl. Dist. Com. during the last presidential campaign & was nominated for the Assembly of Cal. but declined in favor of Jos.

1. See Frank D. Reeve, "The Government and the Navaho, 1878-1883," *New Mexico Historical Review*, XVI, No. 3 (July 1941). For the period 1846-1858, see *ibid.*, XIV, No. 1 (Jan. 1939). A study of the longer period 1858-1880 may be found in four installments in *ibid.*, vols. XII-XIII.

2. *Annual Report*, 9/1/82, 47 cong., 2 sess., hse. ex. doc. 1, p. 189 (2100).

3. Riordan to Chas. H. Fish (of San Francisco), 5/4/82, Appointment Division 209, 343/82 (a special file of confidential correspondence; hereafter abbreviated to AD, but not to be confused with AD in parenthesis which refers to a letter book).

All footnote citations are to documents in the National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs, unless otherwise noted. Outgoing correspondence is copied in Letter Books, hereafter abbreviated to LB, and divided into categories: Civilization (C), Land Division (LD), etc. Incoming correspondence is numbered and will be cited by number and year; for instance, Number 343, 1882, or 343/82.

Wasson in order to save Mono Co to the Republicans.⁴

He had also "put up his money like a man."⁵

In spite of his political antecedents and Machiavellian approach in securing his new position, Riordan had honorable intentions toward the Navaho, and was

prepared to sleep on the ground, go on mutton "straight" if necessary, in fact do whatever the occasion demands in order to make myself efficient in this position, providing I can secure the sanction and coöperation of the Dept as long as I do right.⁶

Before undertaking to "sleep on the ground" it was necessary to assume formal charge of the agency. This was done on December 31, 1882, with considerable unpleasantness and a resulting low opinion of Eastman:

this inert mass of gainlous obstinancy that has been acting as agent here has harrassed and baffled me continually. I am determined to get the examination done and receipts rendered by 12 Oclock tonight or something will have to give. Such a mess as it all is! and such management is sickening.⁷

And the management, Riordan wrote, was tainted with dishonesty:

"Fixing the papers" is not in my opinion the way to account for missing govt property, and I have used very plain language in telling Eastman so during this transfer.

I believe that every Govt employe who was in the agency at the time I came here was an accomplice of Galen Eastman in robbing this Government, and I know I did not discover a tithe of it. And I say this too whether it costs me this position

4. C. Mason Kinne to Hon. Jno. F. Miller, San Francisco, Calif., 5/13/82, *ibid.*

5. E. B. Jerome to Gen. Jno. F. Miller, San Francisco, Calif., 5/10/82, *Ibid.*

6. Riordan to Price, 12/21/82, 23443/82.

7. Riordan to Price, 12/30/82, 637/83. Appointment Division 209, 22/83.

or not. I would respectfully ask you, sir, to make an entire change in simple justice to all concerned.⁸

"An entire change," however, could not be very sweeping. The appropriation act for the year ending June 30, 1883, reduced the agency employees to one farmer from an average of seven for previous years. This gave rise to one of Riordan's chief complaints, *namely*, the lack of help:

I have had to go after red horse-thieves and white; to remove unlawful traders from the reserve; to recover stolen stock; to chase criminals; and to do it all myself—be agent, clerk, chief of police and entire force, hostler, courier, everything, to be able to cope with, single-handed, and to wisely treat all the questions arising between 17,000 Indians and their white neighbors. . . .⁹

J. R. Sutherland, agency physician, who had already lost the confidence of the Indians, was discharged on April 30, 1883. His successor, G. P. Sampson, was appointed a week later at a salary of \$1,000.¹⁰

The first thing Riordan did after taking charge of the agency was to call a council of Navaho as requested by Ganado Mucho and other chiefs. They had already accused "The tarantula" (Eastman) of showing favoritism in the distribution of goods, of giving inferior goods, and of being niggardly with tobacco. "It has been dark so long, so very long," Ganado Mucho said, but now they hoped for better times. Their appeal met with a sympathetic response from Riordan, but not without some misgiving on his part as to the wisdom of his course:

8. Riordan to Price, 1/9/83, 1038/83.

A visitor at the agency said to Riordan, "I do not know you sir, but I feel it is not out of place to say this much. Nothing I have seen in sixteen years of quite intimate connection with the Indian question has at all equalled the Chaotic and antagonistic conditions of things among the Navajoes and at the Agency as it was brought before me during the four days I was there." Riordan to Teller, 1/22/83, 2051/83.

9. Riordan, *Annual Report*, 8/14/83, 48 cong., 1 sess., hse. ex. doc. 1, p. 179 (2191).

10. Riordan to Teller, 1/22/83, 2051/83, and Riordan to Price, 1/23/83, 2145/83. 49, p. 271 (AD).

My methods may not seem the wisest to one at a distance, but I am satisfied no one with a heart in his breast could see the eager, intelligent, impassioned faces of these people and hear their expressions without being convinced that they were at least entitled to a hearing and in their own way.¹¹

The council was held January 19, with Ganado Mucho and Manuelito the principal speakers for the tribesmen. They demanded the dismissal of Sutherland, the agency physician, whom they called "tarantula no. 2"; the post-trader was accused of being a tool of Eastman and should be removed; they requested a few supplies for the aged and infirm, and an addition to the reservation on the northwest and northeast. Riordan was sympathetic toward them and promised that they should receive all goods that the government supplied and that he would visit them.¹² In addition, as a part of his "methods," he asked for a few supplies for the benefit of visitors: "Occasionally some sick or aged Indian comes in and asks for a little sugar and coffee to make a warm stimulating drink. They are entitled to it and ought to have it." This request was hardly in keeping with the economy plan of the government, and Riordan experienced his first disillusionment over his new work:

There isn't today as much available means at my disposal to do this much-needed work as is in the hands of a corporal in the army. I am not going to sit down however. I am going to do what I can, of myself . . . I have made up my mind I'll just have to do it myself in the interests of humanity, and call the expenses a dead loss.¹³

And a "deadloss" they were, as he believed later, but meanwhile he dealt to the best of his ability with the

11. Riordan to Price, 12/28/82, 451/83.

12. Riordan to Teller, 1/22/83, 2051/83.

13. Riordan to Price, 2/7/83, 2829/83. Riordan to Teller, 1/22/83, 2051/83. Riordan to Price, 1/20/83, 2050/83.

Either at this council or later the commissioner authorized the expenditure of \$57.00 for tobacco with the admonition that "hereafter under no circumstances, will a similar expenditure be approved." LB 93, p. 102 (pt. 1, F)

problems of law and order, liquor, and whether or not the Indians could or should live within the boundaries of their reservation.

Several complaints of Navaho stealing were received from settlers along the southern side of the reservation, accompanied with threats of direct action if conditions did not change. During February and March Riordan made six trips through the Indian country rounding up stolen stock and investigating complaints of various sorts. He met with some success, but also with much disappointment at the lack of means for carrying on the work. He collected thirty-three horses and 400 sheep, stolen or estray. "My efforts," he wrote, "have fallen short, far short of producing the result they might have done if the Govt had backed me up, but I have no reason to be ashamed of the showing."¹⁴

Far to the south, a number of Navaho were rounded up and brought to the reservation. One old man had purchased 160 acres at Alamosita for farming and his home had developed into a rendezvous for mischief-making relatives.¹⁵ In the north a more serious problem was presented. A certain Tracy had been murdered by a Navaho and the culprit fled toward the Cañon de Chelly. Receiving information that tribesmen might resist any attempt at an arrest, Riordan requested aid from the commander of Fort Wingate. "From all I can gather," he wrote, "over fifty men have gone into that section—and they never came back. I came very near staying there myself two years ago. I know them."¹⁶ This personal experience did not daunt him, however, and when Colonel Bradley failed to support him promptly with soldiers in sufficient number, he pushed on ahead of his small detachment with an interpreter and brought the quarry out: "We started off at once to get him

14. Riordan to Price, 4/10/83, 6904/83. For complaints of Navaho stealing see 1514/83, 2771/83, 15747/83, 5617/83.

"Not one of the men who got their horses back has even said 'Riordan take a smoke.'" Riordan to Editor, 4/26/83, *The Morning Journal*, 4/29/83.

15. Henry Connelly to Commanding Officer 2/19/83, 4426/83. Riordan to Price, 4/23/83, 7934/83.

16. Riordan to Commissioner, 9/3/83, 16643/83.

out of the cañon as it is a perfect nest of the worst element in the tribe and a harbor of refuge for thieves and murderers."¹⁷

On the exciting trip to the Cañon de Chelly Riordan also accomplished something in regard to the problems of Navaho slaves that had early attracted his interest. He estimated that there were about 300 of them. In the spring, Francisco Capitan, a chief in the northern part of the reservation, had killed one of his slaves, a fourth generation Moqui boy descended from a Moqui girl purchased for some corn. Riordan had forced the release of others held in the same band.

One old villain wanted to know "who was to take care of him if his slaves were taken away from him?" I shut him up by telling him "I would take care of him and the whole band if they were not set free."¹⁸

During the trip after the murderer, Francisco Capitan delivered six more to the agent. Riordan's efforts to solve this problem were not so successful; the slaves returned to their former masters, and not without reason.¹⁹

With scarcely time to rest from his fifteen day trip to the north, Riordan hastened to Navajo Springs, southwest of the reservation, to arrest C. P. Owen, alleged murderer of an Indian boy. The fugitive was arrested in the home of J. D. Houck, some distance away, and taken to Fort Wingate. Those two men had an unsavory reputation among the Navaho; "I saw over twenty five Indians who have been shot at by them during the past year or two," so

17. Riordan to Commissioner, 9/16/83, 17513/83.

Bradley was slow in supporting Riordan; he reasoned that it was hardly worthwhile to endanger peace with the Navaho "for a small evil, that will probably correct itself in a little time." Bradley to AG, 9/4/83, 19170/83.

See also 16886/83, 16933/83, 19037/83, and Bradley to AG, 9/20/83, AGO (Adjutant General's Office, Old Records division), LR (Letters Received, New Mexico File), 3315/83 letter number 3315 for the year 1883.

18. Riordan to Price, 5/5/83, 8675/83.

19. Bowman to Commissioner, 8/1/84, 14974/84.

Riordan reported.²⁰ These episodes, only of passing interest in themselves, lent weight to the argument that a police force should be organized among the Indians to maintain law and order on the reservation.

A police force had been organized back in the days of Agent Army, but had soon been dismissed after accomplishing some useful work. Instructions had been issued to Agent Eastman to organize another force, but nothing had been done about it. Riordan early requested and was given authority to enlist a troop of thirteen at a rate of pay of \$8 per month for captains and \$5 for privates, in keeping with provisions of the Indian Appropriation Act of May 27, 1878.²¹ Riordan claimed that "Nothing is more certain than that no reliable Navajo can be hired for less than fifteen dollars a month and rations, *or its equivalent*."²² The "equivalent" seemed to be an expanding concept. After agreeing to fifteen dollars pay per month, the commissioner was then advised that rations, arms, clothing, forage, etc. must be furnished. The force was finally organized late in the year, but whether or not all their desires were met with is not known.²³ Henry Dodge, "intelligent and fearless, faithful to a trust and a staunch friend. . .," was appointed acting chief at a salary of \$600 per year.²⁴

The new guardians of Navaho behavior were soon given an assignment. Complaints had been received through the military at Fort Wingate of Indians roving beyond the eastern border of the reservation, so in December a detach-

20. Riordan to Commissioner, 9/21/83, 17829/83.

A Federal judge turned Owens over to the territorial officials on the ground that the killing had taken place off the Navaho reservation, and he was sent to Apache County, Arizona, where Riordan believed that "no conviction will follow. In fact I do not believe the man will ever be tried." Riordan to Commissioner, 9/27/83, 18192/83.

21. Commissioner Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 10/15/84, 48 cong. 2 sess. hse. ex. doc. 1, p. 12f (2287). Price to Riordan 3/15/83, LB 184, p. 414. U. S. S. L., XX, 86.

22. Riordan to Commissioner, 8/16/83, 15635/83.

23. Riordan to General D. S. Stanley, 12/12/83, AGO, LR, 4491/83. Also 19369/83, 6081/83.

24. Riordan to Commissioner, 10/16/83, 19370/83. Price to Riordan, 3/8/84, LB 56, p. 131. (pt. 2, F).

ment of five scouts was despatched to bring them back to their official home.

The persons complaining are stock men grazing their herds on the unsurveyed lands of the public domain and reaping benefits they are not entitled to as industriously and persistently as the Indians of whom they complain.²⁵

Such complaints, of course, were more or less chronic, but served to keep alive the old question of whether or not the Navaho could be self-supporting within the boundaries of their reservation. Shortly after assuming charge at Fort Defiance, Riordan had advised the Indian Office that "I do not know of a single available place today where I could put a family or a band if I had to."²⁶ And yet he tried to force them onto the reservation just as his predecessor had attempted to do.

A particularly troublesome spot for white-Navaho conflict over land was in the valley of the Rio Puerco of the West. Matters became so serious around Tanner Springs that the agent finally ordered the Indians to move onto the reservation after harvest time. Their leader, Toh-yel-te, argued most of one night that he would die rather than move, but Riordan simply told him to move or get ready to die.²⁷ Not without feeling, however, did the agent assume such an attitude, as demonstrated in the case of Nash-gal-li who owned a spring off the reservation about five miles from Manuelito. The railroad company wanted the spring, which happened to be on their right-of-way. And what was the answer to the problem? Riordan believed that

These people have feelings and they have rights. Of course the settling up of this section,

25. Riordan to Commissioner, 12/12/83, 23226/83. Also 23229/83.

"I believe the military once ran a portion of the East line, but the marks, if ever any were placed, have entirely disappeared." Price to Secretary of Interior, 3/14/84, LB 47, p. 591.

Price recommended a special appropriation of money for a new survey of the reservation line, accepting the view that the Indians must move onto the reservation because of the railroad and the influx of settlers.

26. Riordan to Price, 2/14/83, 3611/83.

27. Riordan to Commissioner, 8/31/83, 16394/83. Also 11622/83, 23490/83.

especially the fertile spots that have been taken away from the Indians cannot be retarded for any consideration of right and wrong. At least it is safe to assume that it will not be. But we, as the dominant race, will be false to ourselves if we fail to provide, by suitable additions to the reservations, a place on which these people may live in peace and graze their herds and raise their families.²⁸

The commissioner refused to consider another boundary extension, but some slight measures were taken to improve the economic condition of the Indians. The agency farm at Fort Defiance was given up on the plea of lack of proper tools and that government farms on the reservation were not to the best interest of the people. The land was subdivided among the Indians and about \$7,250 was expended to construct an irrigation ditch, and additional sums were spent on repairing the dam that had been recently damaged by flood waters.²⁹ These activities could only benefit a few Indians at the best, but a broader project was undertaken with the allotment of \$2,000 to erect a sheepcote in preparation for providing a better strain of sheep to improve the Navaho flocks. This would make possible their reduction in number for conservation of the range. The evil of the excess number of unused ponies, the Navaho's basis of wealth, was stressed by the agent, but little could be done about it.³⁰

28. Riordan to Price, 2/14/83, 3611/83.

The Navaho could prove up on his claim if located prior to the date of the A. & P. RR. grant of March 12, 1872. Price to Riordan, 3/6/83, LB 180, p. 534.

"The government will promise protection to settlers and after every dollar they have is invested, will leave them to the tender mercies of the Navajo, the warped judgment and prejudice of the eastern bred Indian agents, and the overbearing ease-loving disposition of the army officer. . . . our right to 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' is a myth under the beneficial misrule of the powers and conditions that be."

"At present they overrun, and virtually ruin for all purposes of settlement, sixty townships south and forty on the east side of their reservation." C. W. to Editor, *The Albuquerque Morning Journal*, 2/10/84.

29. Riordan, *Annual Report*, 8/14/83, 48 cong., 1 sess., hse. ex. doc. 1, p. 180 (2191). LB 86, p. 91 (pt. 2, F); LB 91, p. 114 (pt. 2, F); LB 96, p. 243 (pt. 1, F); LB 99, pp. 150, 248 (pt. 2, F); LB 101, p. 56 (pt. 1, F).

30. Price to Riordan, 10/12/83, LB 91, p. 243 (pt. 2, F). Riordan, *Annual Report*, *ibid*, p. 180.

Another approach to the problem lay in connection with traders dealing in Indian goods, an activity shrouded in much "surmises, jealousies, conjectures." In June, 1883, E. S. Merritt and others of Winslow, Arizona, addressed a letter to the president requesting protection for the Navaho against "the rapacity of the Indian traders." "I have to reply," the commissioner wrote, "that you furnish the first complaint to this office that the Indians, of the section to which you refer, (Northern Arizona) 'are receiving less than a fair price (from licensed traders) for their surplus wool and this in goods at from 100 to 200% profit.'" Mr. Merritt did not answer the challenge to furnish a formal complaint, but pointed an accusing finger at Keam who

robs both the Indian & the Government at both ends alike. *Mr. Hyatt* we are informed sells goods very *low*; & no complaints are made against him.

The Indian make the complaints, & have like the white men of the country found out that they get nothing from Keams either for their money or their products—6c is what he paid for wool in goods at his own prices—the poor Indians getting a *store ticket*—equivalent to nothing elsewhere.³¹

At that time there were two traders located at Fort Defiance, Thomas V. Keam and Ben F. Hyatt. When the reservation had been extended in 1880, Keam had left Fort Defiance and relocated off the reservation about seventy-five miles to the west at a spot that came to be called Keam's Canyon. With the removal of agent Eastman, Keam had promptly visited Riordan at Fort Defiance, probably for the purpose of securing a license to reopen a trading post there. Eastman had accused Riordan of being a tool of

31. Merritt to Commissioner, 6/12/83, 11052/83. Commissioner to Merritt, 5/25/83, LB 39, p. 405 (pt. 2, Civ.).

"The use of tokens, tickets, store orders, or credit of any kind, will not be permitted. The Indians must be paid in cash for what they have to sell." Hayt to Agents, Circular No. 37, 12/1/79, LB 154, p. 124.

A decade later the wool was paid for only in "trader's goods" and bought at 4c to 6c per lb; "This seems wrong, but I have no remedy to suggest." Welton to Commissioner, 6/17/88, 15959/88.

this trader, but that seems to have been a false assumption, because the new agent believed in a multiplicity of traders in order to assure fair prices for the Indians. If Riordan had close connection with Keam, whom he did know personally, he logically should have tried to promote his friend's interests, but on the contrary adopted the above attitude that was hardly compatible with such a purpose. Neither Keam nor Hyatt spent much time at their posts, but left the business to be conducted by clerks, a policy that Riordan did not favor. In December of 1883, Keam relinquished his license to trade at Fort Defiance and Walter R. Fales, clerk in charge, bought out the stock and continued the business on his own account the following spring.³²

Whether or not Merritt's criticism of Keam had any bearing on his quitting business at Fort Defiance can only be guessed at, but the commendation of Hyatt was not entirely justified. The commissioner had promptly requested Riordan's opinion about Hyatt as a proper person to hold a trader's license; the agent, in reply, was rather non-committal:

I said that, because I believe any one is an improper one to be stationed here whose presence tends to foster antagonisms and dissensions; and there is no telling where they will end. That is all I have to say.³³

The dissension referred to probably arose from scanty stocks, which the Indians complained about, and high prices. In the fall of 1884 the rent for quarters occupied by Hyatt was fixed at \$30 per month by the commissioner, a figure considerably lower than that recommended by an Indian service inspector or by Riordan, and was intended to eliminate one possible excuse for high prices.³⁴ Hyatt had previously increased his stock of goods, but the Indians were

32. 4892/83, 12502/83, 23588/83, 22813/83, 329/84, 10817/84; LB 173, p. 314; LB 181, p. 20.

33. Riordan to Commissioner, 7/7/83, 12900/83.

34. Price to Riordan, 1/17/84, LB 55, p. 240 (pt. 1, AD). Price to Hyatt. 1/24/84, *ibid.*, p. 440.

not satisfied and he momentarily considered withdrawing from business in the summer of 1884, revealing at the time other motives for his action:

By despatches before me bearing date of June 19 & 21 from Mr. Vance, who has been attending to the recommending of my app. for renewal of license (having furnished at the start the endorsement of the leading business & Professional men of Findlay, Ohio (my home)—and will cheerfully do so again as to Character & qualifications) saying "Cant recommend renewal under the circumstances"—2nd despatch "Must have Six hundred dollars at once and partnership contract or will not renew." Am very sorry to have to bring such matters to your notice but justice to my friends & myself compel me to—Mr V——has been well paid in years gone by. I can truthfully say that in the three years that I have been here, I have not made \$4,000.00 the trade is not what it was before the advent of Railroads.

I do not mention the Vance matter in a spirit of malice, but simply to bring to your notice the manner in which my renewal can be had. I do not wish the office of trader if its a marketable one.³⁵

Nor did Riordan want *his* "office" any longer. The lack of sufficient help and money to carry on the work, and unsatisfactory living conditions at Fort Defiance, were very discouraging. The failure of the department to honor expense vouchers in the spring of 1883 crystallized his dissatisfaction and he tendered his resignation in June. In his annual report for that year he wrote a blistering description of his difficulties:

It would require the descriptive powers of a Scott or a Dickens to portray the wretched condition of affairs at this agency in language such as

35. Hyatt to Price, 6/24/84, 12275/84.

In 1883 Mr. Hyatt bought up to June 21

63,000 lbs wool

For the same period in 1884

6,000 lbs wool

See also 10287/84, and 16716/84 for reports of Navahos' objection to Hyatt.

to present a faithful picture of it to the mind of one who never saw it.

The United States government has never fulfilled its treaty promises and "It is safe to assume that it never will." The Government provides little aid

for the sick, indigent, and helpless Indians, the agent being compelled to see them suffer under his eyes and to close his ears to their requests, or else supply the much-needed articles at his own expense.

How any man could turn a deaf ear to the sufferings I witnessed here last winter—to the cries of hungry women and children whose only support had perished (the sheep), owing to the severity of the winter, and who were thus deprived of all means of livelihood—puzzles me.

In a word, the agent and employes who were to lift up these people to a higher plane, to carry out the civilizing policy of the Government, were expected to live in a lot of abandoned adobe huts, condemned by special, regular, and annual reports as unfit to live in fifteen years ago, condemned by every one who has ever seen them since, and repeatedly damned by all who have been compelled to occupy them. They are full of vermin and utterly unfit for human habitation. I have had to tie my children in chairs to keep them out of the water, on the floors, in midwinter. I have seen my wife, a delicate lady, and who was at that time nursing a baby, walking around with wet feet on the floors of the agent's palatial quarters in a freezing atmosphere, and there wasn't a dry room or a warm room in the house. I have seen as soon as the weather began to moderate, the snakes come out of the walls of those same palatial quarters. You wonder we *kick*. . . . Why don't the Government give an agent here as good a shelter as it gives a mule at Fort Wingate?³⁶

36. *Annual Report*, 8/14/83, 48 cong., 1 sess., hse. ex. doc. 1, p. 177 (2191).

Riordan's salary was reduced from \$2,000 to \$1,500 in 1883 and he claimed to have spent \$800 of his own money in carrying out his duties, etc.

His interest in mining has not appeared in the records since his appointment.

Instructions "that I am entitled to 'an allowance of actual and necessary

The answer to the last question was not given immediately, nor was Riordan's resignation accepted. Two special investigators were sent to Fort Defiance in August, 1883, one of whom remained for about six weeks and helped Riordan in the routine work. A slight flareup of charges and denials of mismanagement and corruption at the agency occurred, reminiscent of the days of Agent Eastman, but soon disappeared under the tempering influence of time.³⁷ Riordan carried on with his work, but looked at it more through the eyes of a realist. He was disillusioned about improving the lot of the Navaho, and pessimistic about the future policy of the government: "One thing is certain, as far as the General Government is concerned, the past wrongs of the Navajos will not be righted."³⁸ Finally, in April, 1884, he tendered his resignation and it was accepted, effective when a successor had qualified. Meanwhile he was granted a so-called leave of absence for the last sixty days, beginning on April 20th. The Navaho were reluctant to lose their agent and agreed in council to supplement his salary by \$1,000 as an inducement for him to remain. "Much was said . . . the regret being universal and very feelingly expressed. . . . Any man might well be proud of the evidence of respect, confidence, and affection shown by the Indians toward the retiring Agent."³⁹ He later tried to withdraw his resignation, but the usual scramble of applicants for the

travelling expenses incurred in the discharge of official duty' I was green enough to think that meant something; and greener still to think that I was supposed to know anything about what was 'actual and necessary.' If I had had more experience in Government word I would have read, (between the lines, and before the words 'actual and necessary,') the modification, 'what a man twenty five hundred miles off, who knows nothing whatever of the circumstances, may think is'—actual, etc." Field work is essential! Riordan to Commissioner, 5/31/83, 10332/83.

"I have had faith enough in 'Boston philanthropy' to give agent Riordan \$250, and to undertake to double that amount, raising the entire \$500 among friends in the fall, to enable him to fit up his quarters so that he can live decently and have his family with him." General S. C. Armstrong in *The Morning Journal*, 9/25/83. See Armstrong to Price, 8/24/83, 16992/83.

37. 16992/83, 16081/83, 19942/83, 18446/83, 18447/83, and 18574/83.

38. Riordan to Stanley, 12/10/83, AGO, LR, 4261/83.

39. S. E. Marshall to Commissioner, 4/21/84, and 4/22/84, AD 209, 518/83. Riordan to Commissioner, 4/8/84, *ibid.*, Teller to Riordan, 4/17/84, 7566/84.

position had set in, and the prize went to ex-sheriff John H. Bowman of Gunnison county, Colorado.

Despite the petition of thirty-three persons who lived near the reservation that a man be appointed who was experienced in Indian ways and familiar with the Navaho country, the new agent was selected for political reasons with the backing of James B. Belford of Denver, Colorado. It was through Bowman's efforts that Colorado "was secured to the Republicans two years ago. He is eminently qualified and deserving."⁴⁰

Bowman assumed charge of the agency June 30, 1884. The responsibilities and problems of the office did not differ from those of his predecessors. White men were competing for the Navaho trade, conflicts continued to occur over land and water rights, liquor was available, and an occasional act of violence was committed. In the last category an immediate problem was inherited from Riordan in the murder of Walcott and McNally, who had been prospecting in the Navajo Mountain country, near the Utah-Arizona boundary. The suspected culprits were Osh-ka-ni-ne's gang, known to Riordan from experience as being dangerous:

I was corralled by them, there being but myself and another white man. They debated several hours as to whether they should kill us or not. We barely escaped.⁴¹

Bowman was a man of action, and issued a ten day ultimatum to the murderers to surrender or the Navaho scouts would be put on their trail. A threat of force would hardly convince an Indian, or a white man for that matter, to voluntarily accept the ministration of the law, but three of the suspects were captured in July. The following month Bowman accompanied a force of ten scouts and forty soldiers toward the Navajo Mountain country, but failed to apprehend any one else. The remains of Walcott were

40. I. W. Stanton to Teller, 4/17/84, AD 209, 173/84. James B. Belford to Atkins, 3/27/85, AD 253 and AD 209, 289/84.

41. Riordan to Commissioner, 4/19/84, 8228/84.

brought in and buried at Fort Wingate; only the murderers knew the whereabouts of the other victim.⁴²

The three Navaho were imprisoned at Fort Wingate. Since the killing had occurred in Arizona, the governor of that territory issued a requisition on the governor of New Mexico and the defendants were turned over to the sheriff of Apache county. One was admitted to bail in the sum of \$500 and presumably not tried, a second escaped, and the third one, after escape and recapture was set free on the refusal of the grand jury to bring in a bill of indictment.⁴³

On the northern boundary of the reservation, and on the southern, on the east and the west, the slowly increasing white population made inevitable further conflicts between the two races. "Every mail which comes here contains complaints of petty difficulties from the white settlers of the vicinity," Bowman wrote; "the conflict of races is growing more intense."⁴⁴ A Navaho was killed at Mitchell's ranch, near the four-corners, in the spring of 1885, and another one came away with a finger paralyzed by a blow from the rancher, who "was no good whatever" in the eyes of the Indians.⁴⁵

The Zuñi to the south complained of Navaho trespassing on their lands, and Bowman sent a representative to settle that matter. In the spring of 1885, the Zuñi appealed to higher authority; a petition was sent to President Cleveland asking for relief from Navaho intrusions, and also from white homesteaders.⁴⁶ Incidentally, the

42. 12891/84, 13406/84, 14012/84, 15305/84, 16371/84, 18284/84.

"Mr. Bowman is a cool-headed, brave, accommodating gentleman." Lieutenant H. P. Kingsbury to Post Adjutant, Fort Wingate, 9/1/84, 18284/84.

Ganado Mucho was willing to cooperate, but was suspicious of the white man's justice because of failure to keep troublesome whites under control. His action, at least, indicated a growing sense of the necessity of preserving law and order among the Navaho. Marshall to Commissioner, 5/8/84, 9313/84.

43. 2385/85, 3146/85, 15296/84. AGO, LR 3411/84. LB 159, p. 250 (LD).

44. Bowman to Commissioner, 10/16/84, 20340/84.

45. Herbert Welsh, *Report of a visit to the Navajo*. . . . The Indian Rights Association, Philadelphia, 1885, p. 23f. AGO, LR 3039/85.

46. Bowman to Pedro Sanchez (Agent at Santa Fé), 2/14/85, AGO, LR 640/85. Yaqui (Governor of Zuñi), *Petition to Grover Cleveland*, 3/28/85, 7459/85.

And a Navaho killed a Zuñi in a dispute over a trading deal. 8957/85, 9566/85.

Cebolla Cattle Ranch owners hoped to benefit from this protest.

In the Datil Mountain country, wandering Navaho were accused of stealing stock and frightening women and children. The agent sent notice to his wards to return home and urged Governor Sheldon to use his influence in the matter: "I think the department should take steps to concentrate them in some way, and believe that a recommendation from you to that effect would accomplish the desired result."⁴⁷

Nothing came of this effort, and in the fall of 1885 the settlers petitioned Governor Ross for relief, and he wrote a strong letter to the commissioner with the usual plea that the Indians be confined to their reservation, particularly because he did "not want any more killings of settlers or Indians in this Territory."⁴⁸ The governor was ahead of the times however, in his "want." A Navaho butchered a mired cow in return for the alleged stealing of his horse by some cattlemen, his former employers. The deputy sheriff at Gallup, James Maloney, arrested him for cattle stealing. A band of Indians came to town to rescue their kinsman, some shooting occurred, and the sheriff took refuge at Fort Wingate for two days until the excitement subsided. "So far as I can judge," Lieutenant Colonel Crofton wrote, "the fault is all on the side of the whites."⁴⁹

On the eastern side of the reservation the Navaho ignored the boundary line and grazed their sheep on land owned or coveted by white men. J. M. Freeman of Santa Fé had purchased the Ignacio Chavez land grant for the

47. Bowman to Sheldon, 10/18/84, *New Mexican Review*, 10/21/84. Bowman to Lieut. Col. R. E. A. Crofton, 10/17/84, AGO, LR, 3757/84.

The Navaho get hunting passes "and go over the entire northern slope of the Mogollon range to a distance of a hundred and fifty miles from their reservation." E. R. Carr to Secretary of Interior, 1/6/86, 1939/86. Carr was justice of peace at Winslow, Arizona, and agent for the Waters Cattle Co.

48. E. G. Ross to J. D. C. Atkins, 9/21/85, 22490/85. See also E. R. Carr to Secretary of Interior, 1/6/86, 1939/86.

49. AGO, Post Letter Book No. 3, pp. 116, 118, 119, 121. 24345/85.

"Lippy was the Indian who caused the disturbance last fall, and was known to be one of the most dangerous Indians in the tribe." *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, July 23, 1886.

purpose of restoring its grazing value by non-use and then selling it for a profit. The Navaho were upsetting this plan and the owner's protest brought a reply from the commissioner that could hardly bring him comfort:

It might be well for your correspondent to notify the Indians that their alleged acts of trespass have been made the subject of complaint to the Department, and that it is known that their Agent has given them no such permission as they claim to have received from him; and that it is believed that if it be shown to them that they are trespassing upon lands in violation of the rights of others, they will desist of their own accord.⁵⁰

V. S. Miera was another complainant on similar grounds. He located a ranch around the junction of the Rio Escobada and Chaco Canyon. The Navaho beat up his herders and told Miera "that if he attempted to put up buildings they would burn them down and would drive his men away." Miera apparently held on to his holdings, however, for the time being.⁵¹ C. F. Meyer, another homesteader, made inquiry concerning the legal status of the Indians when off the reservation, and his attention was called to a General Land Office circular of May 31, 1884, wherein the policy was stated,

to preemptorily refuse all entries and filings attempted to be made by others than the Indian occupants upon lands in the possession of Indians who have made improvements of any value whatever thereon.⁵²

The answer was little calculated to aid the settlers since the Navaho herdsman was not interested in the white man's

50. Price to Freeman, 10/19/83, LB 117, p. 490 (LD). Also 17410/83, 13522/83, LB 119, p. 103.

51. *The Albuquerque Morning Journal*, 2/13/84, 5/1/84, and 5/7/84. Miera to Teller, 6/18/84, 13977/84. Bowman to Commissioner, 7/17/84, 13977/84.

52. Price to Meyers, 1/3/85, LB 132, p. 298 (LD). Meyer to Price, 11/28/84, 23165/84.

Trouble on the eastern side occurred again over the selling of whiskey at San Mateo. Bowman was authorized to spend \$200 to suppress the traffic. See 20546/85, 17274/85, 4984/85, 6065/85, and LB 50, p. 479 (pt. 1, C).

conception of a homestead, and improvements ordinarily consisted only of some evidence of seasonal occupation, such as a bit of tilled land, or a brush dwelling.

In the western country a serious charge was made in the summer of 1884, by the United States commissioner, of a Mormon-Navaho coalition for preying on the cattle of the Gentiles and Mexicans. "If the Gentiles do open up hostilities you can safely count on the largest and most complete masacre that ever occurred in the United States, the matter is worked just to this pitch. . . ." On instructions from Washington, Bowman investigated the situation in the course of an extensive trip over the reservation and belittled the seriousness of the charge:

there is no danger of any thing of the kind, no truth in any such rumor the Mormons are thrifty settlers and always manage to be on friendly terms with their Indian neighbors they readily acquire their language, use the Indians well and fairly as a rule, and I believe get along better with the Indians than most of the Gentile settlers. . . .⁵³

A year later the killing of a Navaho by a cowboy occurred at Tanner Spring. The trouble was the outgrowth of a common source of disputes, the possession of a water supply. Bowman rode eighty miles in twenty-two hours to the scene and found about 150 Navaho surrounding and threatening to kill the "occupants of the 'stone house'." After a two day parley the Indians agreed to turn the culprit over to the sheriff. The unfortunate Navaho, a man of some wealth and years, was off the reservation, but the sympathy of the officials was with him:

Don't you think it is time some measures were taken to punish whites who recklessly and without

53. Geo. A. McCarter (United States commissioner) to Robt. T. Lincoln, St. Johns, Arizona Territory, 6/7/84, 12076/84. Bowman to Commissioner, 10/30/84, 21257/84.

Bowman made careful inquiry among Indians and whites, including the sheriff (a Gentile): "I believe it to be only the fears of some very timid, nervous, or designing persons." Bowman to Price, 7/18/84, 14145/84.

McCarter confessed his own prejudice toward Mormons in the above letter.

the slightest provocation take the lives of Navajos? I look upon your Indians as being remarkable for their forbearance. They are certainly greatly the superiors of many of the whites to be met with in this country.⁵⁴

These bits of trouble between the whites and Indians kept alive, of course, the controversy over the size of the reservation. The Navaho wanted an increase; the whites insisted that they be forced onto their reservation, increase or no increase. The commissioner of Indian affairs denied the request for an addition, although favored by Bowman, on the grounds that the Indian right to take up homesteads was sufficient to provide more land for them,⁵⁵ and they must choose one permanent abode.

The homestead plan was hardly feasible. An estimated 8,000 Navaho lived off the reservation; they had little conception of the white man's meaning of a homestead; they clung to their treaty right to hunt off the reservation; and there was insufficient land and water for many miles around the reservation to satisfy the needs of the Indians and the wants of the cattlemen and settlers. Perhaps an NRA (Navaho Recovery Administration) might have solved this problem, but the 1880's were still the age of "rugged individualism," and the Indian was not doing too bad in that respect.

The alternative proposal of forcing the Navaho onto the reservation likewise presented difficulties. The estimated area of 12,749 miles allotted to them sounded large on paper, but its productive capacity was not rated highly; "it would be difficult to find a region of equal size and with an equal population where so large a proportion of the land is so

54. Crofton to Bowman, 11/15/85, AGO, NM, Post Letter Box No. 3, p. 129. See also Bowman to Commissioner, 11/10/85, 27069/85. AGO, NM, LR 3877/85. 26358/85.

A small group of Navaho settled on the Cottonwood Wash, west of Holbrook, were also using water coveted by cattlemen. E. R. Carr to Secretary of Interior, 1/6/86, 1939/86.

55. Bowman to Commissioner, 7/9/84, 13397/84. Price to Bowman, 7/30/84, LB 128, p. 235 (L D). E. L. Stevens to Bowman, 8/11/84, *Ibid.*, p. 369.

nearly worthless.”⁵⁶ The commissioner believed that the reservation had reached its productive capacity except in grazing, and advanced the older suggestion that the number of horses be reduced and the quality of sheep improved.⁵⁷ The Navaho, however, were fond of their horses and content with the quality of the sheep.

The economic picture of the Navaho was not so bleak as the chronic clamor might indicate:

The Navajo is by far the most intelligent and thrifty, ready and willing to work, and several have grown rich by their trades of silversmith, blacksmith, or saddler; which they have acquired from their contact with the few whites near them.⁵⁸

In addition to the growing crafts as a source of income, the government was pursuing its policy of encouraging farming, long considered as a prime solution to the problem of economic self-sufficiency, although actual results to date had been slight. In the fall of 1884 Bowman was authorized to spend \$2,500 to develop water resources; presumably the money was mostly spent in building a stone dam at the mouth of Bonito canyon where dirt dams had failed to serve the purpose. The project was completed the following spring and furnished water for about seventy-five

56. Cosmos Mindeleff, "Navaho Houses." *Seventeenth Annual Report*, Bureau of American Ethnology, pt. 2, p. 477 (1898).

Bowman stated: "This reservation is about my ideal of a desert." Quoted in Atkins to Secretary Interior, 12/19/85, 31061/85.

Thomas V. Keam estimated the reservation area at 16,500 sq. mi., with 60,000 acres of farm land, and a population of 17,500. 1623/86.

The agent's census of population in 1885 was 21,000. Atkins, *op. cit.*

57. Atkins to Bowman, 5/26/85, LB 137, p. 117, and 31061/85. Parsons, *Report*, 4/27/86, 12532/86.

Keam estimated the horses at 25,000, cattle 2,500, sheep 650,000, and goats 325,000. 1623/86.

Bowman's estimate for horses was 35,000-40,000. 31061/85.

58. Keam to Atkins, 1/2/86, 1623/86. -Op. cit.

"Aside from their peacefulness they show few signs of civilization. They retain their barbarous customs and indifference to Christianizing influences, and it is believed that were it not for their property interests but very slight provocation would induce them to wage savage and cruel warfare. They are an expense and a burden to the General Government. Their herds roam over the public domain untaxed, and they contribute nothing to the general good of the country." Governor of Arizona, *Annual Report*, 1885, 49 Cong., 1 sess., Hse. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, p. 904 [2379].

families.⁵⁹ Windmills, brought to the agency in 1880, and never installed, were probably given to the Moquis; at least Bowman so recommended on the grounds that they "can not be judiciously used by the Navajos."⁶⁰ In the western country Keam claimed to be furnishing water from his developed supply for 10-15,000 Navaho horses and sheep daily during the summer months, remarking that the Indians "like children required assistance in management."⁶¹ In addition, farm implements were furnished along with a miscellany of other articles. In March, 1886, about 4,000 recipients attended the issue of goods. Many others did not attend for the common reason of inclement weather and the difficulty of transporting anything worthwhile

to their distant homes on the back of a diminutive pony—though I did see one determined Navajo carrying off a large plow on horse-back and another a wheelbarrow, though I regret to say that in the latter case the experiment proved unsuccessful, the fragments of the wheelbarrow being scattered by the refractory horse all over the north side of the plaza.⁶²

Another method of civilizing the Indians was revived by Bowman, namely, the building of houses like the white man's dwelling. About twenty-five were erected in the fall of 1884, and twenty-two more authorized in the winter of

59. Price to Bowman, 10/23/84, LB 107, p. 448 (pt. 1, F). Herbert Welsh, *Report of a Visit to the Navaho*. . . 1885. p. 17f.

60. 12150/85. The project for a sheep-cote near the agency had not succeeded; Bowman was instructed to distribute the 75 marino bucks to reliable Navaho. Teller to Bowman, 10/1/84, 19263/84.

61. Keam to Atkins, 1/2/86, 1623/86.

62. Wm. Parson (special Indian agent), *Report*, 4/27/86, 12532/86.

In the fall of 1884 Bowman reported that "The shovels are as thin, and easy bent as tin, and possess as little flexibility," and plows were practically useless; all shipped by John Dere & Co. of Moline, Illinois. 22890/84.

Wagons were still being furnished to the Navaho also. "There is no better method of giving them practical lessons in independence—and self reliance!" That is, by using the vehicles for doing the public freighting. P. H. Folsom (special agent) to Atkins, 4/30/85, 10005/85.

During the fiscal year 1886-1887 the Navaho received \$287.20 for freighting government goods. Patterson, *Annual Report*, 50 cong., 1 sess., hse. ex. doc. 1, p. 255 (2542).

1886 at a total cost of \$1,084; another one was built for a son of Ganado Mucho as compensation for being ousted from a spring by a white man, and Keam reported that one or two chiefs in his locality had paid white men to build houses for them. The steam sawmill, set up at Fort Defiance to supply lumber for dwellings, had failed to serve the purpose for lack of nearby timber; it was now offered for sale and the proceeds were to be used to buy doors and windows from J. C. Baldridge Lumber Company of Albuquerque.⁶³ Several years later an appropriation was made for a portable sawmill.

All in all, the reports of Navaho economy were now much better than during the hard years at the opening of the decade. "The condition of the tribe, as a whole, is not only far removed from hardship, but may even be said to be one of comparative affluence,"⁶⁴ a state of affairs due more to the seasonal swing than to government aid, however, because subsistence supplies had been discontinued. As early as 1883 it was claimed that

They are already self-supporting, living chiefly on mutton, and on flour, sugar and coffee purchased from the traders, supplemented in summer by their own corn, pumpkins, watermelons, etc. Not a dollar from the government for any living purpose whatever.⁶⁵

Other evidence that the Navaho were not destitute can

63. Bowman, *Annual Report*, 9/3/84, 48 Cong., 2 sess., hse. ex. doc., 1, p. 179, (2287). LB 118, p. 170 and LB 120, p. 131 (pt. 1, F); 18365/85, 22336/85, 1623/86, 22511/85. Patterson, *Annual Report*, 49 Cong., 2 sess., hse. ex. doc. 1, p. 422 (2467).

64. Mendelev, *op. cit.*, p. 482.

Although published later, the material in Mendelev and Stephen (see below) was collected in the 1880's.

65. General S. C. Armstrong in *The Morning Journal* (Albuquerque) 9/25/83.

The Navaho "have planted quite a crop of corn and are showing a spirit of industry heretofore unknown among them. Along the road between Wingate and Defiance most of the land susceptible of cultivation has been planted. . . ." D. O. T. R. to Editor, 7/31/84, *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, 8/3/84.

"The average Navaho farm, and almost every adult male now has a small garden patch, comprises less than half an acre, while two acres is considered a large area to be worked by one family at one time." Mendelev, *op. cit.* p. 503.

See also A. M. Stephen, "The Navaho." *American Anthropologist*, vi, no. 4, 361f. (October, 1893)

be found in the rivalry among white men for a license to trade, and the attempts of the government to regulate the business. Under a new policy effective in 1886, traders were required to report their annual gross sales as a basis for determining the number of licenses to be issued; the maximum profit per article was to be fixed by the commissioner of Indian affairs, and the average profit allowed was not to be greater than twenty-five percent of the original cost plus freight charges.⁶⁶ The limitation on profit was presumably in the interest of the Indian, but it is doubtful that any such rigid rule worked in practice. Trade was carried on by the barter system. The Navaho exchanged wool in season for goods, and sometimes pawned his jewelry with the trader during the interim, although such practice had been forbidden. The sellers competed for the favor of their neighborhood patrons by the giving of trivial presents to the more influential Indians. The Navaho on the other hand had the advantage of going from trader to trader for the best price, and of patronizing the numerous stores off the reservation when not too distant. The limitation on the number of traders on the other hand, was hardly in keeping with the theory of free competition for establishing the best price level, but there was some fear that too many traders would tend to force the price of wool down to the detriment of the Indian.⁶⁷

In this period of Navaho prosperity, the traders were all Republicans. . . . They are very bitter in their feelings towards the administration and some of them are giving the Agent trouble—I am sure that “Day, Damon, Donovan, and John H. Bowman” compose a ring calculated to defeat the intents of law, and are very objectionable men as traders.

The writer, J. M. Weidemeyer, a Democrat, belonged to one

66. Commissioner Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 9/28/86. 49th Cong., 2 sess., Hse. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, p. 115 (2647).

67. Atkins to J. S. Struble (House of Representatives), 4/14/86, LB 1, p. 166 (pt. 2, M).

For a brief statement of Navaho trade see Bowman to Commissioner 8/10/85, 18952/85, and 2/22/86, 6219/86.

of the best families in Missouri, according to Senator F. M. Cockrell, and had not only secured a license to trade at Fort Defiance, but was trying to secure a monopoly on the business at that location.⁶⁸ His efforts was unavailing despite the backing of Cockrell; the commissioner believed that business justified two traders at the agency; furthermore, Mr. Weidemeyer had been too choosy once before in securing a license, preferring a location at the Crow Indian agency instead of Fort Defiance.⁶⁹

His desire for a monopoly was justified if his figures were accurate. He claimed only a gross profit of 25 per cent in less than two and a half months beginning June 26, 1886; a net gain of \$150, or about \$30 per month for himself and clerk. By the end of the year he had grossed \$4,602.80.⁷⁰

Weidemeyer's *bête noire* was the store of B. F. Hyatt who was the storm center of Indian discontent during Riordan's period as agent. He had secured the license for his clerk, S. G. Reeder, a Republican, but it was commonly believed that he really owned the business.⁷¹ The gross receipts for 1886 amounted to \$8,448. Reeder (or Hyatt) survived the attempt to cancel his license for the benefit of Weidemeyer, but he finally sold his business to the newcomer January 1, 1887.⁷²

69. Atkins to Patterson, 9/9/86, LB 2, p. 77 (pt. 1, M) Atkins to Cockrell, 7/12/87, LB 2, p. 206 (pt. 2, M) Cockrell to Atkins 7/7/87, 17654/87. near Fort Defiance, was seeking aid to secure the reopening of his store, closed by the commissioner of Indian affairs 7/6/86.

69. Atkins to Patterson, 9/9/86, LB 2, p. 77 (pt. 1. Atkins to Cockrell, 7/12/87, LB 2, p. 206 (pt. 2, M) Cockrell to Atkins 7/7/87. 17654/87.

70. Weidemeyer to Atkins, 9/1/86, 25639/86. Patterson to Atkins, 3/1/87, 6844/87.

Weidemeyer's business was managed by his son. The above letter was written from Clinton, Mo., indicating that he was not always on the reservation.

71. Bowman to Commissioner, 8/10/85, 18952/85. Weidemeyer to Vest, 2/8/86, 4580/86. Parsons to Atkins, 3/13/86, 8076/86.

72. Patterson to Atkins, 6/18/86, 16483/86. Patterson to Commissioner, 1/9/87, 1723/87. Patterson to Atkins, 3/1/87, 6844/87.

The traders carry a stock of \$500 to \$4,000; silver buttons, bracelets, rings and bridles pass as emergency currency; wool is sold by the blanket, not by the pound; traders expect to furnish free tobacco and "numerous presents to *influential* patrons," competition is keen among traders; in 1885 wool sold for 7-8c per

The rival business at Fort Defiance was owned by Michael Donovan who bought out W. R. Fales in the spring of 1885, and also secured a license to trade at Washington Pass.⁷³ Donovan hailed from Syracuse, New York, and had some connection with the firm of Upson and Donovan of Baldwinsville, New York, manufacturers and dealers in clothing and shoes. He too was accused by Weidemeyer of being a "front" for some one else. In the struggle for the license at Fort Defiance, Donovan pulled strings through Representative Frank Hiscock, but the influence of the senator from Missouri was greater and he lost out. The new agent for the Navaho also withdrew his recommendation for the renewal of Donovan's license "for good reason," believing now that one store was sufficient at the agency.⁷⁴ Donovan retained the other license and opened business July 28, 1886, at Chinlee where former Agent Bowman served as his clerk. Donovan left for the east for business reasons and died in the summer of 1887. Bowman, meanwhile tried to secure the license with Donovan's approval, but Patterson hoped that no one connected with the former administration would get the license "for the peace and harmony of matters here." His hope was apparently realized. At any rate, C. N. Cotton of Mount Vernon, Ohio, bought the stock of goods after the death of Donovan with the understanding that he would receive the license, but that part of the deal not being successful, he was closed out by the agent in November, 1887. He immediately appealed to General G. W. Morgan and Senator A. B. Payne, but without success. The prize was worth a struggle, the gross

pound and was quoted in Albuquerque at 9-12c; trade cannot be monopolized because the Navaho are nomadic, "They are sharp traders, persistent beggars, occasional thieves but withal good natured." Bowman to Commissioner, 2/22/86, 6219/86.

73. LB 181, p. 423; LB 49, p. 118 (pt. 2 C); LB 51, p. 298 (pt. 2, C); 5038/85; 18952/85.

74. Patterson to Atkins, 6/18/86, 16483/86. The change in agents will be discussed later. Weidemeyer to Atkins, 9/1/86, 25639/86. J. W. Upson to Frank Hiscock (House of Representatives), April, 1886, 16523/86. Atkins to Hiscock, 6/23/86, LP 1, p. 439 (pt. 2, M). Hiscock to Atkins, 11/1/86, 29235/86. Also 28676/85.

receipts for the store amounting to \$16,360.50 from August, 1886, to March, 1887.⁷⁵

The other licensed trading post on the reservation was located at Tse-a-lee ("the spring that flows out from two rocks"), about fifty miles north of Fort Defiance; it was started by S. E. Aldrich, probably related to Senator N. W. Aldrich, and his partner (E. S.?) Clark, in the spring of 1885. In the summer of 1886 Clark was succeeded by A. S. Sweetland in the firm, and during that same year the gross receipts were \$10,947.47.⁷⁶

About thirty-five miles west of Fort Defiance, at Ganado or Lu-ka'nt-quel ("place of water reeds"), John Lorenzo Hubbell had opened a trading post in 1876, eventually staking out a homestead, and was considered one of the most successful traders in the business.⁷⁷ Thomas V. Keam at Keam's Canyon and about fifty other stores off the reservation completed the array of places where Navajo products found their way to market in the 1880's.⁷⁸ While the white men struggled for licenses and competed for business, the suspicion lingered in the mind of the Indian that the cards were stacked against them in the game of barter and sale. "In all the complaints that were made, the evils of certain trading posts were those which most grieved them now."⁷⁹

75. Patterson to Atkins, 3/1/87, 6844/87. Cotton to Morgan, 11/23/87, 32361/87. Also 29235/86, 31914/87, and LB 1, p. 132 (pt. 2 M). Frank Hiscock to Atkins, 11/1/86, 29235/86.

76. LB 1, p. 479 (pt. 2, M); LB 49, p. 2 (pt. 2, C); LB 50, p. 100 (pt. 1, C); 18952/85, 7889/86, 17562/86, 6844/87, 14201/87, 748/85.

77. John Lorenzo Hubbell as told to John Edwin Hogg, "Fifty Years an Indian Trader," *Touring Topics*, vol. 22, no. 12 (December, 1930), Los Angeles, Calif. Also 5603/86, 18952/85.

"Out here in this country the Indian trader is everything from merchant to father confessor, justice of the peace, judge, jury, court of appeals, chief medicine man, and *de facto* czar of the domain over which he presides. For nearly half a century I've been known locally as The King of Northern Arizona." *Ibid.*, p. 24.

"Moreover, his [Hubbell's] influence and power through five decades have been greater than that combined with the governors of many of these United States. A modern frontiersman he was indeed." The Editor speaking, *Ibid.*, p. 25.

78. Bowman to Commissioner, 8/19/85, 18952/85.

79. H. O. Ladd to Editor, 9/9/87, *Daily New Mexican*, 9/14/87. Mr. Ladd had visited the Navaho and met with them in council.

Meanwhile another change in agents occurred at Fort Defiance. The brief tenure of Bowman was due to entanglements with too many women, one of whom had followed him from Colorado and produced a rupture between the agent and his wife. The agency staff divided in their attitude toward this situation. R. R. Aycock, the agency clerk, and G. P. Sampson, the doctor, were the chief critics and accused the agent of malfeasance in office, immorality in conduct, and of allowing his female friend to operate a boarding house in the school building with the aid of government supplies. Aycock in turn was accused of clerical incompetency and Sampson of being a quack. S. E. Day, agency farmer, and Stewart the blacksmith were allies of Bowman. Inspector Pearsons was sent to the scene and made a report favorable to Bowman: "He is energetic, resolute and quick man." Bowman, meanwhile, had offered his resignation, effective preferably December 31, 1885, and became manager of a cattle ranch at Navajo Spring.⁸⁰ In a subsequent investigation, Special Indian Agent Parsons exonerated Bowman of charges of dishonesty and forced the resignation of Dr. Sampson who had a medical diploma, but was "in no way qualified for the practice of the healing art."⁸¹

The successor of Bowman was S. S. Patterson of Newton, Iowa, a Civil War veteran, a "fine lawyer & a Democrat," and a partner of J. C. Cook, attorney for the Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company.⁸² He enjoyed a period of quiet following the scandal in agency affairs, but it was only

80. Geo. R. Pearsons, *Extract from Report on Navajo Agency*, November, 1885, 29696/85. Patterson to Atkins, 12/4/86, 32718/86. Also AD 209, 173/84.

81. Wm. Parsons, *Reports*, 6047/86, 11814/86, 11992/86, and 12446/86. Sampson to Patterson, 4/10/86, 10926/86.

Other documents pro and con are 2007/83, 28453/85, 28676/85, 7429/86 (attached to 8076/86), 12446/86, 6335/86, 688/86, 22478/85.

C. M. Jeanes declined an appointment as additional farmer because of unfavorable conditions at the agency with the ambiguous statement that he expected to make some money but could not do so under the present agent. Jeanes to Atkins, 11/29/85, 29178/85.

82. Atkins to Secretary of Interior, 12/21/85, AD 253. Cook to Benton McMillan (House of Representatives), 7/8/88, 20157/88.

the lull preceding the storm. The usual difficulties eventually raised their heads.

In the summer of 1886 a Navaho was killed in Gallup by Wm. Davis, a herder for Frank Ritz, in a dispute over a horse. A detachment of troops was sent from Fort Wingate to prevent further trouble. After a two hour conference, the Indians agreed to accept \$80 worth of supplies from Ritz, payable to the family of the deceased. Patterson swore out a complaint against Davis and had him bound over for grand jury investigation, intending to make an example of the case in order to prevent such incidents in the future; cowboys, he thought, were "too free in the use of revolvers which they always carry."⁸³

The following winter a shooting occurred in the neighborhood of Houck's Tank, about forty miles south of Fort Defiance. The constable served a warrant on a Navaho for horse stealing, but was dealing with the wrong party, one who was returning an estray and not the real wrongdoer. Instead of making sure of his party, the constable, in the popular conception of Western behavior, shot first and talked afterwards. Before the melee ended, the constable and probably two assistants were dead, the Navaho was also dead and another one badly wounded, if not mortally so. A detachment of cavalry was rushed to the scene, but nothing more came of the matter; the white men apparently felt that they were in the wrong this time.⁸⁴

In the summer of 1888 the whiskey problem raised considerable excitement. The Navaho were getting unusual quantities of liquor, or else the traffic had been conducted

83. Patterson to Atkins, 7/28/86, 20821/86.

84. O. O. Howard to AG, 2/14/87, 4650/87. Patterson to Atkins, 2/15/87, 5110/87. Lieutenant Grierson, *Report*, 2/28/87, 7454/87 and 5246/87.

"There are undoubtedly horse thieves among Navajos as well as whites, and a number of worthless men of both classes lounge around the same towns begging, stealing, and gambling." Col. R. S. La Motte to AAG, 10/15/87, Fort Wingate, Post Letter Book No. 3, p. 250.

The acting agent reported in the spring of 1887 that white men ran off about 150 to 200 horses from Ganado Mucho's place and the Navaho went in pursuit. Ben C. Ford to Patterson, 3/21/87, 7911/87. Patterson was in Washington, D. C. at the time.

too secretly for officials to notice it. The publisher of *The Gallup Weekly Register* complained to the commissioner that whiskey was sold in unlimited quantities to the Indians at Cabezón, in the upper Puerco valley, and that it was a "growing and dangerous evil." Patterson was instructed by commissioner Upshaw to investigate and punish the offenders. Meanwhile the agent requested the sum of \$250 to hire detectives to secure evidence against them, and also asked for a company of soldiers to be sent to the agency to aid in breaking up the traffic.⁸⁵ An attempt by the Navaho police and ten cavalymen to arrest a half-dozen Indians for bringing liquor to the reservation was met with resistance by 100 or more Navaho. The outcome of this particular episode is not clear, but some Indians were put in jail at the agency and one seller indicted. Patterson claimed that "the whiskey traffic is completely wiped out among the Indians in all parts of the reservation," but this was over confidence in the long range view; it was not believed by Colonel Carr, nor by one of those hardy women characters found on the frontier who wrote: "If the right man is sent here I will put him in possession of facts that will largely be the means of suppressing the[whiskey] evil."⁸⁶

While the whiskey traffic remained *in statu quo*, that is, business as usual, the problem of the boundary line and the Navaho living off the reservation continued to ferment. The Indians took advantage of the change in agents to press for an extension to their reservation. The whites, on the other hand, and particularly the authorities of Arizona

85. A. M. Swan to Commissioner, 7/6/88, 17320/88. Upshaw to Patterson, 8/21/88, LB 176, p. 428 (L D). Fort Wingate Post Letter Book No. 3, pp. 317, 321. Patterson to Commissioner, 8/18/88, 21367/88.

86. Mrs. H. C. Mason to Commissioner, 10/15/88, 26296/88. Patterson, *Annual Report*, 9/1/88, 50 Cong., 2 sess., hse. ex. doc. 1, p. 192 (2637). Carr to AAG, 9/10/88, Fort Wingate Post Letter Book No. 3, p. 330. Also 22124/88 and 21936/88.

Speaking of Mrs. Mason, "She is not much for 'polish' but she is what we call on the frontier, 'a good rustler.'" Riordan to Commissioner, 3/6/87, 6779/87. She had tried to secure the trader's license for Chinlee, "you know a sturdy woman can do more towards civilizing those Navajos than fifty men such as they send out here from Washington." Mason to Riordan, 3/6/87, *ibid*.

territory, were urging the removal of all Navaho on to the reservation; even the territorial legislature memorialized the government to that effect; and the sheriff of Apache County seized Indian horses for non-payment of taxes, an action that Patterson advised his charges was legal.⁸⁷ Patterson favored the viewpoint of the whites on the grounds that the influx of settlers and the growth of towns had led to a condition of constant friction with the ever-present possibility of serious trouble. The reservation area, he thought, was sufficient for their support, particularly because of a current project for water development.⁸⁸ The Washington authorities decided that it was advisable to send out a special investigator before taking action.

After spending about three months studying the problem, Special Agent Welton reported that the Navaho advanced the following propositions: the boundary should be extended westward to the Little Colorado River, the southern boundary marked off with a wire fence, and a qualified official sent to allot lands; in return, the Indians agreed to locate within the boundary lines of the reservation (except those who received allotments in non-reservation land), while reserving the privilege of going off the reservation for trade.⁸⁹ This report produced no change in the situation and before anything further could be done another agency upheaval occurred, due to scandal connected with the water development.

When Special Agent Parsons visited the reservation in April, 1886, he recommended the appropriation of \$50,000 for the development of water resources which he believed would make possible a living for all the Navaho within the limits of their own country. Commissioner Upshaw favored the policy; artesian wells, he stated, had proved successful in southeastern New Mexico, furthermore, the Navaho too

87. Patterson to Atkins, 7/1/86, 18213/86. Arizona Legislative Assembly, *Memorial*, 2/3/87, 4550/87.

88. Patterson to Atkins, 2/25/87, 5750/87.

89. H. S. Welton to Commissioner, 7/8/88, 18372/88. Also Atkins to Secretary Interior, 4/6/87, LB 158, p. 213 (LD).

little understood the white man's land system and the working of the homestead law to solve their problem by that device. Congress appropriated, not \$50,000, but the modest sum of \$7,500 in 1886 and again in 1887.⁹⁰

The project was quickly started and in the course of the first year fifteen springs were opened and improved, five dams and fourteen reservoirs constructed, and nine ditches excavated.⁹¹

In view of the size of this project and the favorable report at the end of the first year, substantial progress toward the economic betterment of the Indians seemed to be under way, but unfortunately evil machinations were going on behind the scene. The first symptom of trouble occurred when the agency physician, Dr. William A. Olmstead, was discharged June 4, 1887, at Patterson's request on the ground of incompetence and trouble making in general. The dismissal was probably justified, but the doctor complained to the commissioner that Patterson secured his dismissal because he feared a possible investigation of agency affairs.⁹²

During the following winter, friction developed between the school staff and the agent; the superintendent, matron, and one teacher requested an investigation of agency matters on the ground that scandalous reports had been spread to discredit the complainants and that drinking and gambling occurred at the agency. The upshot of this affair was the suspension of the superintendent by Patterson late in March.⁹³

The more serious consequence of the trouble lay in the

90. Parsons, *Report*, 4/27/86, 12532/86. Upshaw to Secretary Interior, 5/27/86, LB 148, p. 422 (LD).

91. Patterson, *Annual Report*, 8/23/87, 50 Cong., 1 sess., hse. ex. doc. 1, 256 (2542).

92. Olmstead to General A. B. Upshaw, 10/20/87, 28520/87.

Eight employees preferred charges against the doctor. One quoted the doctor as saying that Patterson was incompetent and that "*Hell was full of such Agents*," and that he (Olmstead) had come to make money "and by g-- d-- he was going to make it." 14181/87.

Olmstead had been appointed agency physician September 11, 1886.

93. 2625/88, 4511/88, 7906/88, and 9127/88.

appearance of Special Indian Agent H. S. Welton in March, 1888. He soon reported evidence of payroll padding on the water improvement project; furthermore, the agent had never seen the work in progress, and Indians were hired at \$1.00 per day and charged fifty cents by Patterson for board. He recommended that work be suspended, a step that was taken promptly by Commissioner Atkins.⁹⁴ Patterson left for Washington in April, probably to clear himself from pending trouble. During his absence, the agency clerk Ben C. Ford, was in charge, but proved to be too fond of liquor to suit Mr. Welton who put pressure on the clerk to resign. Mr. Ford was reluctant to resign, so the special agent took the matter up with the commissioner, stating that

Disipation was not *alone*, the cause of my desire that Mr. Ford should resign. A suit brought, to recover the Thousands of Dollars of "irrigation funds" fraudulently taken, would necessarily develop *facts* (now in my possession) that would most seriously and criminaly implicate Mr. Ford, which is not desirable unless necessary.⁹⁵

Mr. Ford protested his innocence, but he was dismissed as of May 26.⁹⁶

The initial report to Washington in regard to the water project was not sufficiently specific to prove wrongdoing against Patterson, and Welton was instructed to sift matters to the bottom. In the report concerning Ford, however, Welton laid himself open to sharp criticism. His job was to investigate and report findings; he had presumed to pass judgment on the question of prosecution, which, he wrote, "is not desirable unless necessary." The commissioner promptly corrected that attitude: "Your duty as Special

94. Welton to Atkins, 3/31/88, 9154/88; Atkins to Patterson, 4/7/88, LB 92, p. 281 (pt. 2, AD).

95. Welton to Commissioner, 4/29/88, 11615/88.

96. "I am innocent Genl Upshaw and the victim of spite and malice . . . I have been made the victim of an old cranky and malicious Special Agent." Ford to Upshaw, 6/30/88, 17847/88. See also 11838/88, and LB 93, p. 198 (pt. 1, AD).

Ford had been nominated for the job of clerk on December 20, 1886, and presumably started work early the following year.

Agent is to report . . . without fear, or favor, or regard . . ." to results.⁹⁷ Welton had little time to make any more reports; his services were unsatisfactory and another investigator was sent to the scene.⁹⁸

The next investigation produced ample information to terminate Patterson's career as agent. In the first place, T. D. Marcum, the new special agent, found dissatisfaction among the Indians. They called their agent the "old woman" because he moved slowly, and also the "man who smells his mustache." And other sources confirmed this frame of mind. Old Manuelito complained to the commander at Fort Wingate that he had been thrown into the guard house at the agency because he had called Patterson a dishonest man and a liar: "When a man is lying with a sharp stick or stump running in his side, it irritates him. That is how I feel about this matter," Manuelito said. And the vigorous minded observer of Navaho affairs, Mrs. Mason, took her pen in hand to testify:

Since S. S. Patterson has been here they have had no Agent. John Bowman was poor enough because he was careless, but this man Patterson is a curse to the Country as well as to the Indians.⁹⁹

Marcum meanwhile rendered a detailed report on his findings, an exposé that could be defined simply as embezzlement. The payrolls had been padded, false abstracts of expenditures of property had been issued, government

97. Atkins to Welton, 5/7/88, LB 93, p. 395 (pt. 1, AD). Upshaw to Welton, 5/5/88, *ibid.*, p. 390.

98. "It would seem that Special Agent Welton is too impulsive, is governed more or less by prejudice, lacks good judgment and discretion, misuses his official authority, and is even not altogether free from malice in his investigations and reports. . . ." Atkins to Secretary of Interior, 5/15/88, LB 93, p. 94 (pt. 2, AD).

The new investigator recommended the dismissal of Welton. 25781/88.

Another employe of the agency was dismissed in June. He held the positions of blacksmith, carpenter, chief of police, and postmaster. His protest illustrates the patronage system: "know that you strike one who served near four years in the Union Army, a pensioner. One who served four years as Sheriff of Keokuk Co. Iowa. A Democrat, with a standing in Iowa, that the malicious assaults of my enemies can not effect." H. C. Adams to Commissioner, 6/21/88, 16181/88.

99. Colonel F. A. Carr to AAG, 9/30/88, 26651/88. Mrs. H. C. Mason to Commissioner, 10/15/88, 26296/88.

property at the agency illegally used, and a private boarding house for laborers had been operated with the government paying the salaries of the cooks. All told, Marcum figured that \$8,692.83 expended on irrigation works "is virtually a waste of public funds," and that Patterson owed the government \$4,298.29. The superintendent of construction and an accomplice in the payroll padding, S. E. Marshall, had been approved for appointment as additional farmer for one month in the summer of 1886 with the following instruction to Patterson: "you will not submit his name for any position at your agency, in the future." Marshall was appointed nevertheless to the construction job in January, 1887. Apparently he had influence some place.¹⁰⁰

Needless to say Patterson was dismissed from the service. Ten years later his accounts were finally settled and he was indebted to the government in the amount of \$829.87 on a/c of "Public moneys and property unaccounted for."¹⁰¹

A most promising project for the economic betterment of the Navaho had come to a dismal end. The peace time problems that confronted the government and the Navaho had not been solved in the course of a generation following the return of the Indians from their enforced sojourn on the Bosque Redondo.

100. T. D. Marcum, *Report* (synopsis), 9/20/88, 25404/88. Concerning Marshall, see Atkins to Patterson, 9/3/86, LB 79, p. 66 (pt. 2, AD); also LB 83, p. 460 (pt. 1, AD), and LB 82, p. 264 (pt. 2, AD).

101. Auditor to Secretary of Interior, 3/22/98, Appointment Division, 253. Commissioner to Secretary of Interior, 11/1/88, 26651/88.

THE NEW MEXICO STATUTES: OBSERVATIONS IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR MOST RECENT COMPILATION

By ARIE POLDERVAART,
State Law Librarian

THE first formal collection of New Mexico laws, following the American occupation is the historically well-known Kearny Code prepared under direction of Brigadier General S. W. Kearny by Colonel A. W. Doniphan and Willard P. Hall, which was announced as the law for governing the Territory of New Mexico in a letter by General Kearny to the Adjutant General of the United States on September 22, 1846. The laws, as explained by General Kearny in his letter, were taken partly from the laws of Mexico theretofore in effect throughout the territory, partly from the laws of Missouri, and to a lesser extent from the laws of Texas, Coahuila and from the Livingston Code. A surprising proportion of the Kearny Code has survived, in reenacted form, the effect upon it of sixty-two territorial and state legislative sessions, as will be indicated by examination of the "Present status" annotations in a reprint of the Kearny Code in Volume One of the New Mexico Statutes 1941.

Following a preliminary legislative session in 1847, regular sessions of the territorial legislature were held annually from 1851 until 1869 inclusive, after which regular sessions took place biennially, more or less regularly until statehood. The territorial legislature of 1854 authorized a revision and correction of the laws, which was completed by Chief Justice James J. Deavenport of the territorial Supreme Court in 1856, and was known as the "Revised Statutes of the Territory of New Mexico." Another revision and compilation was authorized by the legislature in 1859 and a commission designated to perform the task, which reported back to the legislature in 1865. This compilation was declared by the legislature to be "The Revised Statutes

and Laws of the Territory of New Mexico . . . 1865." The territorial Supreme Court held later in the case of Tafoya v. Garcia, 1 N. M. 480, that this legislative declaration in 1865 had the effect of repealing all laws passed prior to this revision and that all acts contained in the Revised Statutes of 1865 were reenacted the same day.

Chief Justice L. Bradford Prince in 1880 prepared another revision of the general laws of the territory, but this compilation was never officially recognized by the Legislature. In 1884 a new compilation of the laws was authorized and three commissioners, Edward L. Bartlett, Charles W. Greene and Santiago Valdez, were designated to prepare and publish it, which was done in 1885. The last territorial compilation is that of 1897, upon authority of an act of March 16, 1897, and was prepared for publication by John P. Victory, Edward L. Bartlett and Thomas N. Wilkerson.

Since statehood, New Mexico had a codification of its laws in 1915, a compilation authorized by Laws 1929, ch. 135, and another compilation authorized by Laws 1941, ch. 191, which was scheduled for delivery to the state by the compilers during December, 1942. The publishers of the 1929 compilation also prepared and issued an unofficial supplement to the 1929 Compilation during 1938. Codifications and compilations of the law are distinguished, it should be noted, by the fact that laws as codified supersede the laws previously enacted whereas compilations merely bring related laws together, eliminating repealed and non-essential provisions, but do not otherwise change the wording of the original acts. When the laws are codified, the usual procedure followed by the legislature is to authorize codification at one session, designating codifiers to place the laws in proper arrangement, to eliminate obsolete provisions and antiquated laws and to reword or rewrite provisions which need redrafting. Then, at a subsequent session of the legislature the codification is adopted as one comprehensive act, repealing ordinarily as was done in 1915, all general laws not therein codified. An authorized compilation on

the other hand merely directs the compilers to bring together in a systematic arrangement all of the general laws still in force. The compilation is not subsequently adopted by the legislature, or does not need to be, since it does not embrace changes in wording, repeals nothing, and is but *prima facie* the law. The new 1941 New Mexico Statutes are the most completely annotated set of New Mexico statutes yet prepared. The comprehensive nature of the compilation is evidenced by the fact that the 1929 Compilation was published in one volume containing 2,068 pages, whereas, the 1941 Compilation is being published in six volumes, averaging approximately 1,500 pages each.

Perhaps the most interesting experiences in compiling a new set of statutes result from the discovery of humorous, sometimes ridiculous, errors that have perhaps inadvertently, perhaps designedly, crept into the laws. Some of the more interesting of these "errors" observed during preparation of the new 1941 compilation are being reviewed herewith.

The New Mexico Constitution provides that the subject of every bill shall be clearly expressed in its title and that a bill shall not embrace more than one subject (N. M. Const., art. 4, sec. 16). This provision, no doubt is an outgrowth of the elusive and deceitful practice indulged in during territorial days of slipping incongruous provisions into bills, which might not have been enacted if they had been openly presented upon their merits. Best known product of this territorial fraud is that contained in the act of February 2, 1860, entitled "An act to incorporate the Mesilla Mining Company" which provides in sections 1 and 3 for the incorporation as provided in the title. But section 2 of the act provides as follows:

Be it further enacted: That it shall be lawful, valid and binding, to all intents and purposes, for those who may so desire, to solemnize the contract of matrimony by means of any ordained clergyman whatsoever, without regard to the sect to which he may belong, or by means of any civil magistrate.

This section quite obviously was thus hidden in the act to elude the vigilance of the Catholic clergy.

Even after statehood, however, attempts (usually held unconstitutional when contested in the courts) have been made to circumvent the constitutional requirement. Perhaps the best known of these attempts is the recent 1939 capitol building act which combined in its provisions authority for remodeling the capitol building and acquiring lands for state park purposes (Chap. 112, Laws 1939), held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in *Johnson v. Greiner*, 44 N. M. 230, 101 Pac. 2d 183.

An interesting practice, not as yet presented before the courts, is illustrated by a 1933 act, Chapter 53, granting additional powers to the Cattle Sanitary Board. This act by its title and apparently also by an imperfectly worded repealing clause seeks to repeal a 1905 act prohibiting the holding of cattle roping exhibitions. The title and text of the act mention only the numbers of sections being repealed, leaving the assumption in the minds of persons reading them that these sections represent limitations upon the powers of the Cattle Sanitary Board sought to be removed, whereas in fact they are not germane to the principal subject of the act. The subterfuge is obvious. By not mentioning the subject matter of the acts sought to be repealed either in the title or in the body of the act, the legislature eluded the vigilance of the S. P. C. A. and kindred organizations.

There is a 1923 act which bears this vague title: "An act for the preservation of public peace in the State of New Mexico." (Chap. 4, Laws of 1923). A reading of the act itself reveals that it seeks to prohibit wearing of masks, hoods, robes or other covering upon the face, head or body—directed against and intended to disrobe the hooded gentry of that day, the Ku Klux Klan.

Stenographers in typing the enrolled bills have made mistakes which have slipped by and remained uncorrected by certificate. The acts therefore appear upon the books in a form not intended by the legislature. Under our Supreme

Court decisions the courts will not go behind the enrolled and engrossed bills. Of most common occurrence are instances in which a small word such as "not" is omitted, making mandatory acts intended to be prohibitive. Fortunately, the title in these cases and perhaps other provisions in the act ordinarily make it more or less apparent that such declaration does not express the true intent of the law-makers and the courts have recognized the value in such cases of the title and other sections as aids in interpreting the true meaning of the law. Sometimes a word is inserted instead of being left out. This may provide incongruous and humorous results. A provision in sec. 10, ch. 94, Laws 1921, for example, provides that it shall be unlawful to operate, haul or conduct over any public highway or street any vehicle of certain descriptions without a permit which specifies a method of operation which will *not* prevent as far as possible inconvenience and danger to the traveling public and damage to the surface.

Though persistent efforts are made during most sessions of the legislature to eliminate them, many acts as enacted carry provisions in direct conflict with the constitution. One of the most frequently violated provisions is that portion of art. 12, sec. 4 of the New Mexico constitution which provides that "All fines and forfeitures collected under general laws . . . shall constitute the current school fund of the state." The 1921 act above mentioned, for example, provides that fines for violation of the act shall be placed to the credit of a fund for the construction and improvement of roads and streets.

Some laws as passed are meaningless, misleading, or have been sheared of vital provisions sought to be enacted. A 1929 act, for example, providing for assignment of wages and salaries, says that the assignment in order to be valid shall be acknowledged by the party making the assignment and that if the person making such assignment is married and living with his wife, the assignment shall be recorded in the office of the county clerk. Does this mean that if a

person is not married or if he is married but is not living with his wife the requirement is waived? That, apparently, is what the statute implies. A bit of research here, however, reveals that as introduced this act told a quite different story. In the process of enactment a clause which read "such assignment shall also be signed and acknowledged by the wife, and" was omitted following the phrase "living with his wife." The legislator who introduced the bill, however, intended to provide that if a person making the assignment is married and living with his wife the assignment should be valid only if it were also signed and acknowledged by his spouse.

The 1931 legislature in chapter 105 of the laws enacted that year provided for investigation of the affairs of certain fraternal benefit societies in the state by the superintendent of insurance, and included in the enactment statement a section which prohibits the superintendent from making public any financial statement or report of his findings until "a copy thereof shall have been afforded a reasonable opportunity to answer any such financial statement, report or finding, and to make such showing in connection therewith as it may desire." What the legislature intended, most likely, was to give the society involved an opportunity to explain, rather than to impart life to the report.

A humorous touch is added by some. This same 1931 act, mentioned in the preceding paragraph, in enumerating the societies affected designated one of them the "Nights of Pythias." An act creating a state board provides that certain state officials shall serve as ex-officio members, then adds that, in addition the governor shall appoint two *reputable* citizens to the board.

The New Mexico constitution provides that no act can be amended or its provisions extended by reference to its title but that each section thereof as revised, amended or extended shall be set out in full. This provision has created considerable legislative difficulty. On numerous occasions when sections are long and involved, only the particular

paragraph or subsection amended has been set out in full. Legality of this practice has not been tested, but is extremely questionable. Sometimes, the legislature in its desire to comply with the Constitutional provision, on the other hand, has followed the mandate so closely as to lead to queer and ludicrous results. The 1941 legislature, for instance, in amending an earlier law, creating a state board of health, provided that "As soon as possible after the enactment and approval of this act (i.e., the 1941 act) the governor shall appoint one member whose term shall expire on January 1, 1939, two members whose terms shall expire on *January 1, 1941*, and two members whose terms shall expire on January 1, 1943." Obviously the new appointment of the first three members must have been quite perfunctory inasmuch as their terms expired well before the bill was introduced. (Laws 1941, ch. 54, sec. 1)

Inadvertent repetition of words or phrases sometimes changes the meaning of our statutes. The 1937 legislature in an act relating to fidelity and surety insurance probably intended to provide that indemnity would not apply against the loss of certain designated commercial paper while in the mail or in the custody or possession of a carrier for hire for the purpose of transportation, except when being transported by an armored motor vehicle accompanied by one or more guards. As enacted, however, the law calls for "transportation by an armored motor vehicle *accompanied by an armored motor vehicle* accompanied by one or more armed guards." In other words, the armored car which transports the commercial paper, and the other items intended to be covered by the act, must be accompanied by a second armored car and one or more armed guards.

Failure to observe technical constitutional requirements may easily cause very serious complications. An act passed with a two-thirds majority or over, carrying an emergency clause, becomes effective under wording of the customary emergency clause upon its passage by the legislature and approval by the governor. The Constitution provides in art.

4, sec. 22 that "Any bill not returned by the governor within three days, Sunday excepted, after being presented to him, shall become a law, whether signed by him or not, unless the legislature by adjournment prevent such return. Every bill presented to the governor during the last three days of the session shall be approved or disapproved by him within six days after the adjournment and shall be by him immediately deposited with the secretary of state. Unless so approved and signed by him such bill shall not become a law." The 1931 legislature enacted a measure providing a "Guaranty Fund" to insure prompt payment of principal and interest upon conservancy district bonds theretofore issued, also providing for a tax levy for the purpose. During preparation of the 1941 Compilation it was noted that this bill was not signed by the governor and did not reach him in its final form until one day before adjournment of the legislative session. Under a strict interpretation of the emergency clause this bill could not have become law under any circumstances and under the Constitution it could not become law unless by some tenuous interpretation the time could be held countable from a previous day on which it had been sent to the governor, but after which it had been recalled for alteration and amendment.

Compilation of the statutes has many advantages aside from convenience and greater accessibility of the law. Not least among these is the opportunity it affords to discover defects in our legislation which need to be corrected.

NEW MEXICO'S FIGHT FOR STATEHOOD 1895-1912

By MARION DARGAN

VI: ADVERTISING "THE BACKYARD OF THE UNITED STATES"

ONE CANNOT UNDERSTAND fully the long struggle which New Mexico was forced to make for admission to the union if he concentrates solely upon activities in the national capital. Many statehood bills were introduced in congress, but it would be an idle waste of time to trace their history. It is much more significant to try to get backstage and discover why all these bills were doomed to defeat. With our system of short terms of office, frequent elections and great publicity, it is obvious that congressmen who remain in office any length of time are very responsive to the wishes of their constituents. Hence it was really the American people who kept the territory out of the union for sixty years. Let us then consider two questions: what did the American people think of New Mexico? and how did the New Mexicans try to put their territory before the people of the nation in a better light?

Crusaders for statehood generally agreed that one of the greatest factors which held New Mexico back was the ignorance of the territory and its resources which prevailed in the east. Ralph E. Twitchell wrote the *St. Louis Globe Democrat* early in 1900:

The territory of New Mexico has been the most maligned, the least appreciated, and the poorest understood portion of Uncle Sam's domain.¹

Much the same idea had been expressed ten years earlier by the *Las Vegas Optic*, when it said:

The Territory of New Mexico is to the masses of America a *terra incognita*. If they have ever heard of it the knowledge is of a place luxuriant

1. *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, quoted by *New Mexican Review*, Jan. 11, 1900.

with cactus, sage brush and vast areas of sand: a land in which water is at a premium, and life holding on by its eyebrows. The capitalist recognizes in such a country no opportunity for investments; the farmer never thinks of it as inviting his labor by offering remuneration and competency, and the laboring man generally passes over the land as unworthy of consideration.²

Several years later the same newspaper exclaimed:

Queer ideas some of our eastern cousins entertain about New Mexico! Inquiries are daily made if we have schools and churches; if the Indians are dangerous; if we have any society and other questions equally ridiculous and indicating a lack of intelligence.³

In June, 1895, the Albuquerque *Morning Democrat* complained:

The misconceptions in the east are more numerous about Arizona and New Mexico than any (other) part of the west today. Even very intelligent people believe the whole country an uninhabitable desert, and it will take lots of advertizing to persuade them that the country is really what it is.⁴

Ignorance and misconceptions were attributed to high and low alike. "Goodbye, God, we leave to-morrow for Lordsburg, N. M.," was the closing of a little girl's prayer in the states, according to the Silver City *Enterprise* for August 23, 1889, while the *Optic* stated a few years later that the Honorable Hoke Smith, Cleveland's secretary of the interior, had been unable to locate New Mexico on the map!⁵ A year later T. B. Catron, who had been elected delegate to congress from New Mexico, wrote Stephen B. Elkins:

We are far removed from the State Governments, and there is an absolute and supreme ignorance

2. Las Vegas *Optic*, July 9, 1891.

3. *Ibid.*, Jan. 16, 1896.

4. Albuquerque *Morning Democrat*, June 19, 1895.

5. *Optic*, Feb. 8, 1894.

throughout the members of Congress from the States as a general thing, as to a territorial government.

Twitchell complained that many easterners knew nothing about the New Mexicans except what they read "in the columns of their home paper, contributed by some special correspondent on his travels and written from what he saw from the window of a tourist sleeper."⁶ Erroneous ideas regarding New Mexico were, however, not confined to those who had never seen the territory. Eastern tourists passing through on an excursion, en route to Southern California, sometimes "rolled their eyes in wild astonishment" when they found that United States postage stamps could be bought in Santa Fé, and for exactly the same price they paid in Boston.⁷ Bernard S. Rodey waxed eloquent over the sins of visitors to the territory who were blind to the many signs of progress. In an interview to the *Pittsburgh Times*, he said:

Nothing is so hard to dispel as a popular misconception, and the Nation at large has a misconception of New Mexico. The eastern tourist is the person largely responsible for this false impression. He or she comes out here armed with a kodak, and every blanket Indian, every old adobe house and every burro in the Territory is the object of a snapshot, to be carried back East as typical of the New Mexico of today. They go miles to get snapshots at an Indian pueblo, but Albuquerque and our other towns, with wide, well-kept streets, elegant stores, handsome residences, churches, school houses and colleges, are hardly given a second look, let alone a thought. They are too like similar things in the East, and the tourist comes out here to see something strange to him.⁸

News stories of outlaws and crimes committed in New Mexico doubtless had much to do with the low opinion of the

6. *Globe Democrat*, quoted by *New Mexican Review*, Jan. 11, 1900.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Pittsburgh Times*, May 26, 1903.

territory held in the east. James McGuire, mayor of Syracuse, New York, who visited Albuquerque in the spring of 1901, told a reporter:

He had observed that eastern capitalists and home-seekers were afraid of territories. The general impression prevailed that the people were wild and lawless and incapable of governing themselves. Though a territorial form of government might be as good, or even better in some cases, the fact that people thought it wasn't would prevent immigration and investments.⁹

A humorous letter which appeared in the *San Marcial Bee* a year later—possibly written by the editor himself in imitation of "Mr. Dooley"—pointed out that the criminal record of the territory worked against statehood. It read:

Our dear boy Henry

... I see by the papers that the people down thar (in New Mexico) are sufferin and strugglin for statehood. They say ther populashun an churches an industries is all right and I recon tha be but tha hev a yearly batch of muders and stock stealins an train an stage holdens up an killens an cripples enough to make civilization git up on its hind legs and howl Henry. An I want to tell you rite now that a pitiful idjut with a 6 shooter ken do a dad burned site moar in a minit to backset statehood for N Mex than ther representatives in Kongres and the hole religious an political push ken do in 4 years to shove it foreds by gosh an don't you ferget it.

Peter Jackson¹⁰

When we attempt to analyze the misconceptions of New Mexico held by easterners, they are resolved into a constant repetition of two ideas: the country is an uninhabitable desert, and the people are unfit for self-government.

Lt. Zebulon M. Pike and Josiah Gregg did much to convince the American public that much of the southwest

9. Albuquerque *Journal-Democrat*, March 17, 1901.

10. *San Marcial Bee*, May 24, 1902.

was a barren desert, unfit for human habitation. Pike, who passed through New Mexico in 1806 predicted that the vast desert area would serve to restrict population to certain limits. Gregg, the author of the *Commerce of the Prairies* (published in 1844) was a Santa Fé trader for a number of years. He declared that much of the southwest seemed "only fitted for the haunts of the mustang, the buffalo, the antelope, and their migratory lord, the Prairie Indian." When General Kearny invaded New Mexico during the summer of 1846, his men who were half-starved at times¹¹ doubtless acquired lasting impressions of the country which seemed inhospitable compared to the woods and green fields of Missouri. Six years later, when the Gadsden treaty to purchase what is now southern New Mexico and Arizona came before the senate for ratification, it was a Missourian who led the opposition to it. Senator Benton declared that the country was "so utterly desolate, desert, and God-forsaken that Kit Carson says a wolf could not make a living upon it. . . ."¹² Other senators also described the land as worthless. Of course, the popular idea of "the Great American Desert" at one time included the whole region between the one hundredth meridian and the Rocky Mountains.¹³ By 1870, this term had largely lost its meaning, as far as most of the area was concerned. The old idea still persisted, however, with regard to New Mexico and was to appear again and again in the arguments of those opposed to the admission of the territory to the union. Even New Mexicans were inclined to disagree as to whether or not they could afford to have tourists see the territory with their own eyes. Thus, in discussing the possibility of having daylight trains run through New Mexico over the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé railroad, the Albuquerque *Citizen* said in April, 1892:

11. Smith, Justin H., *The War With Mexico* (New York, 1919). vol. 1., p. 293.

12. *Congressional Globe*, 33 Congress, 1st session, vol. 29 (appendix) p. 1034.

13. See "The Notion of a Great American Desert East of the Rockies" by Ralph C. Morris, *Miss. Valley Historical Review*, vol. XIII., pp. 190-200.

A good view of the Rio Grande valley . . . would do more to disable a man's mind of the popular idea that the whole of New Mexico is a desert, than all the printed matter that the company could publish.

Commenting on this opinion, the *Optic* said:

Now, that is doubtful. Many have heard of the wonderful Rio Grande valley, and when they pass along its wilderness of sands, miles upon miles, with nothing to break the solitude of the desert, a very unfavorable opinion of New Mexico is formed, and one which the few cultivated places in the valley along the line of the Atchison road often fails to remove.¹⁴

The fitness of the people of New Mexico for statehood does not seem to have been raised in the early debates in congress on the admission of the territory. On March 3, 1871, J. Francisco Chaves, delegate to congress, made an able presentation of the grievances of New Mexico and of its desire for statehood. During his remarks, he paid a fine tribute to the loyalty and conservative character of the people of the territory. His words, however, do not suggest that any question had been raised as to the character of the inhabitants of New Mexico.¹⁵ Nor does the speech of Stephen B. Elkins, also a delegate from New Mexico, May 21, 1874, prove any such contention.¹⁶

The chief opponent of the admission of New Mexico at this time was Clarkson N. Potter, a democrat who served four terms in congress. The *New Yorker*, who claimed some familiarity with territories since he had done some

14. *Optic*, April 28, 1892.

15. Forty-First Congress: *Congressional Globe* (Washington, 1871): Third Session, vol. III (Appendix) pp. 244-47.

16. Elkins paid the following tribute to the inhabitants of the territory: "There is certainly no good reason for this treatment on the part of the Government. Nothing can be urged against the people of New Mexico.

They are loyal and law-abiding, peaceable, well-disposed, and wedded to our institutions. They love our country, our Union, and our laws. Though our adopted sons by the fortunes of war, their conduct during the rebellion furnishes a bright example of patriotism and loyalty which certainly deserves a better recognition now than injustice and discrimination." *Congressional Record*, vol. 2, part 6, appendix p. 299.

surveying in Wisconsin in 1843,¹⁷ might seem to have been prejudiced against New Mexico, since he stated that it would make no difference, with regard to his opposition, if the territory "had two hundred thousand population instead of one hundred thousand."¹⁸ Furthermore he referred briefly to the people of the territory as follows:

This is a territory of slow growth, not of rapid growth. Its population is composed mainly of descendants from Mexicans. The business of legislation in the territorial Legislature is carried on, I am informed, largely by means of an interpreter, as is also business in its courts. A very considerable portion of the population of the Territory do not speak the English language. It seems to me that these are all reasons why, so far as the interest of New Mexico is concerned, she has now less claim than another Territory with no more population might [have].¹⁹

If these words suggest prejudice, a careful reading of Potter's entire speech shows that he emphasized two ideas: first, the slow growth of New Mexico during twenty-six years of American rule indicated that she would remain sparsely settled; ²⁰ second, her admission would be dangerous, since it would add to the power of the already too powerful minority of westerners in the senate.²¹

Apparently, it was not until the late eighties that opponents of the admission of New Mexico boldly and openly attacked the character of her people and their fitness for full citizenship. The admission of Colorado in 1876 had cost the democrats the presidential election of that year. The result was that party leaders began to consider the admission of new states more carefully from the standpoint of party expediency. Months before the election of 1888, they must have known that the contest would be a

17. *Congressional Record*, vol. 2, part 5, p. 4132; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927* (Government Printing Office, 1928), p. 1425.

18. *Congressional Record*, vol. 2, part 5, p. 4134.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 4131.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 4134.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 4134-35.

close one, even though they could not foresee that the defeated candidate would receive the majority of the popular vote. With the two parties so nearly equal in strength, the greatest care must be exercised in the admission of any new states. Thus, when the democrats finally reconciled themselves to the fact that they could no longer keep out Dakota, the Springer "Omnibus bill" which they sought to push through congress, was regarded as "the fruits of death bed repentance." Republican papers expressed great indignation because "Dakota with its great wealth and growing population" had been "linked to the rotten borough of New Mexico." It was at this time and under these circumstances that the press initiated a flagrant attack upon the people of New Mexico.

Early in January, 1889, the *Optic* declared that "the unworthiness of the people of New Mexico to be granted the privileges of statehood" was being discussed "with more venom than wisdom or information," and that it would be well for the eastern papers to remember that both houses of congress had voted to admit New Mexico in 1874, and the only reason the bill failed was "for lack of time to harmonize some differences of very minor importance."²² Toward the end of the same month, the *Optic* declared that "abuse of this Territory was the prevailing fashion of the day," but that the editor had ceased to pay any attention "to the floodgates of filth which many of the eastern papers have opened for the inundation of New Mexico."²³ However, he proceeded to reproduce a part of an article in the *Indianapolis News* "which goes so much beyond anything we have seen elsewhere," and which impressed him "as a rare specimen of the genus asinus." This choice piece of Hoosier wisdom denounced the Springer bill as "a bit of partisan impudence." While admitting that New Mexico might "have population enough for a state," it declared that "a large part of its population" was "far less fit" for American citizenship than the "plantation hands" of the

22. *Optic*, Jan. 2, 1889.

23. *Ibid.*, Jan. 28, 1889.

Old South, whose masters "talked of little else than politics." "In this indiscreet way," the *News* declared, "a good many slaves learned more of political rights and action than the average native of New Mexico."²⁴

Referring to "the general policy of the eastern press to villify, lie about, and slander the people" of New Mexico, the Silver City *Enterprise* declared on Dec. 28, 1888 that "it has remained for the Chicago *Tribune* to outdistance all others in vile, low-down, uncalled-for, ignorant, untruthful aspersions against our people." The extract which he quoted, from the *Tribune*, however, was outdone by an editorial which appeared in that paper on Feb. 2, 1889. In commenting on the passage of the Springer bill by the house, the editor approved the proposal to convert the northwestern territories into states. He objected, however, to the admission of New Mexico. He asserted that she had fifty thousand less than the number which should be required for a state. Making a scurrilous attack on the character of the people of the territory, he declared that they were "not Americans, but 'Greasers,' . . . ignorant of our laws, manners, customs, language, and institutions." They were, he charged, "lazy," "shiftless," "grossly illiterate and superstitious."²⁵ His conclusion was that Wyoming with sixty thousand less people was "far more deserving of statehood."

One week later another editorial in the *Tribune* referred to the "Protest of Citizens of New Mexico against the Admission of that Territory into the Union of States" as "a remarkable document" "to which frequent reference has been made." The editorial said:

It (the protest) confirms what has so often been urged by the *Tribune*—namely: that New Mexico is unfitted for Statehood; first, because the greater part of her population is unfamiliar with the English language and would be at the mercy of unscrupulous rings of politicians; second, because the political power of the Territory is controlled by

24. *Ibid.*

25. Chicago *Tribune*, Feb. 2, 1889.

dishonest men; third, because any code of laws made would be a disgrace to the State should it be admitted; and, fourth, because its political leaders are leaders for revenue only, the only limit of whose rapacity has been the amount of money raised by taxation.²⁶

As the *Chicago Tribune* took the lead in slandering New Mexico, its attack did not go unnoticed. The *Optic* pointed out that the editor who had allowed his paper "to shamefully abuse the native born American citizens of New Mexico" was not "a native born American, but an emigrant from New Brunswick," who had never been in the territory he was slandering.²⁷ The *New Mexican* suggested that possibly the editor was "very sour on New Mexico" because he had put money into that gigantic and powerful corporation, the Rio Grande Irrigation and Colonization Company, which claims to own 1,400,000 acres of land in the Rio Grande valley, all level, and under titles brought down from the very day Montezuma mounted his historic eagle and flew away to far Anahuac.²⁸ However that may be, the territorial editors were probably right in holding Joseph Medill personally responsible for the columns of dirt which appeared in his paper almost continually. The owner of an interest in the *Tribune* from the winter of 1854-55, Medill had bought the majority of the stock of the paper in 1874, and controlled its policy during the remainder of his life.²⁹ One of the greatest editors in the history of American journalism, he was actively in charge of the *Tribune* until the day of his death in March, 1899. Since he was one of the organizers of the republican party and a strong partisan

26. *Ibid.*, Feb. 9, 1889. The same editorial also quoted an article from the *Kingston Shaft* which said that the native people of New Mexico "have failed to assimilate themselves to the spirit and genius of our institutions; for forty-two years they have been under the protection of the American flag. During that time a generation of people has grown up that are ignorant of the language of their country, nor do they wish to have it taught to their children."

27. *Optic*, Jan. 2, 1889.

28. *New Mexican*, March 4, 1890.

29. *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-1937), vol. XII., pp. 491-92.

who had fought Springer for years, it was natural that he should favor the division of Dakota and oppose the admission of the more distant territory in the southwest.

Apparently the republican press inaugurated the campaign of slander against the people of New Mexico, but congressmen were not slow in joining it. Thus, when the house committee on territories reported the Springer bill favorably, March 13, 1888, five republican members brought in a minority report, recommending that North and South Dakota be admitted as two states and that the provision for the admission of New Mexico be stricken from the bill. Among the reasons given for opposing statehood for the southwestern territory, the report declared that "a large number of the people are uneducated, and unfamiliar with either our language, customs, or system of government."³⁰ Strange to say, this thesis was buttressed by lengthy extracts from *El Gringo, Or New Mexico and Her People*, which had been published in 1856. The author, William Watts Hart Davis, had served as United States district attorney for New Mexico in 1853-54.³¹ A native of New England, Davis has recently been described by Mr. Harvey Fergusson as a "green" tenderfoot, who was prejudiced against the native people because of their dark color and "shocked by much that he saw in New Mexico, . . ." Mr. Fergusson adds:

The morals of the country he found to be very bad, and perhaps he even made them out a little worse than they were, as moralists are apt to do.³²

All of this made the book excellent propaganda material for the minority report.³³ Evidently congressional partici-

30. *House Reports, Fiftieth Congress, First Session*, vol. 4, report no. 1025, p. 40.

31. Twitchell, Ralph E. *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1912), vol. II, p. 314. Davis was also secretary of the territory in 1857 and acted as governor for eleven months. *Ibid.*

32. W. W. H. Davis, *El Gringo or New Mexico and Her People* (The Rydal Press, Santa Fé, New Mexico, 1938). See the introduction by Harvey Fergusson.

33. In 1887 General Davis, who had become quite an authority on local Pennsylvania history, read a paper on "The Spaniard in New Mexico" at the Boston meeting of the American Historical Association. Doubtless his appearance at this time helped to call attention to his earlier book on New Mexico.

pation in the abuse of New Mexico encouraged more republican editors to take part. Mudslinging proved effective, since people read sensational editorials. At any rate, the *Denver Republican*, always the friend of its neighbor to the south, said on May 24, 1889:

What, more than anything else, has kept New Mexico out of the Union is the belief on the part of Eastern men that to a large extent its population is ignorant, superstitious and not in sympathy with American ideas of government and private right.

Twelve years later eastern newspapers were still indulging in caustic comment on the New Mexico their readers knew so little about, and it was still a territory.³⁴

The ignorance and misconceptions of the east regarding New Mexico slowly gave way to more accurate information and a more sympathetic attitude. This came about largely through an extensive advertising campaign over a period of years. It is the purpose of this second half of this article to describe briefly some of the ways in which this end was achieved.

Perhaps it is not too much to say that this campaign began in 1880, when the territorial legislature passed an act "establishing a Bureau of Immigration." This board was to consist of twenty members appointed by the governor—each county having at least one. The secretary was to be a salaried official, and was to maintain an office in the territorial capital. The purpose of the board was set forth in section 3 as follows:

The duties of such commissioners shall be to prepare and disseminate accurate information as to the soil, climate, minerals, productions, and business of New Mexico, with special reference to its opportunities for development, and the inducements and advantages which it presents to desirable immigration and for the investment of

34. One of the most caustic editorials which appeared during the statehood boom at the beginning of the century is found in the *Philadelphia Evening Telegraph* for Dec. 13, 1902.

capital. They shall have prompt replies sent to all inquiries relative to the above subjects, that may be addressed to them; and shall publish and distribute such pamphlets and documents, as, in their opinion, shall tend to promote the objects of their organization.³⁵

The commission was handicapped in its important work by the smallness of its appropriation, which varied from \$1,500 to \$2,000. This inadequate sum had to cover the salary of the secretary and the cost of publication of the literature issued. Fortunately, however, its secretary and directing genius for twelve years was Max Frost, the brilliant editor of the *New Mexican*.³⁶ The most influential newspaper man in the territory for years, Frost was a master of propaganda and a skillful diplomat who readily enlisted the coöperation of almost everyone in his schemes. Without attempting to estimate what the Bureau of Immigration accomplished in publicity for New Mexico during the last three decades of the territorial period, we may turn to its biennial report for 1889 and 1890 for a sample of its activities. First, the report stated that during September and October, 1889, a car "containing a fruit, grape and cereal exhibit" from the territory had been sent on a tour of exhibition from Colorado to Illinois all along the line of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé railroad. Many circulars and pamphlets had been distributed from the car. Second, a resolution had been adopted by the bureau which resulted in Gov. Prince's sending a delegation to Washington which succeeded in getting congress to provide for the settlement of the Spanish and Mexican land grants in the territory. Third, about 10,000 copies of a book prepared by the secretary were distributed, "the bulk of them in the United States, and about 2,000 copies in the United Kingdom." Fourth, about 50,000 circulars had been distributed, over

35. *The General Laws of New Mexico*. Compiled by L. Bradford Prince (Albany, New York, 1882), Article VII, section 3, pp. 58-59.

36. For a sketch of Frost, see my article on "The Attitude of the Territorial Press," in vol. XIV of the *Review*.

1,400 letters of enquiry answered, and from ten to fifteen copies of the book on New Mexico were "being mailed almost daily by the Secretary in compliance with special requests; . . ."

The title-page of the book referred to reads: *New Mexico: Its Resources, Climate, Geography and Geological Condition: Official Publication of the Bureau of Immigration*, Edited by Max Frost, Secretary, Santa Fe (New Mexican Printing Company, Santa Fe, N. M., 1890). The report stated that the Atchison railroad and the Atlantic and Pacific had given financial aid, and they had also distributed over 7,000 copies of the book. Aid was also given in the circulation of literature by the Maxwell Land Grant company, officials of the Census Office and Geological Survey of the United States, and by ten residents of the territory mentioned by name.³⁷

Much of the literature circulated by the Bureau of Immigration took a very optimistic view of the resources and prospects of the territory. This is indicated by the following phrases which appeared on the cover or title page of some of the pamphlets issued: "The Section Offering the Greatest Opportunities to Men of Brains, Energy, Capital," "A Mineral Belt Unequalled on the Face of the Earth for Quality, Quantity, or Extent. Four Hundred Miles of Gold, Silver, Copper, Lead, and Coal," and "With Irrigation the New Mexico Farmer has Rain When He Wants it and Seldom when He Don't Want it."³⁸ Doubtless, some of this literature was misleading, and did the territory more harm than good. Thus in an address to the irrigation convention held in Las Vegas in March, 1892, O. A. Hadley said:

Now I say to you, and I know whereof I speak, that there has been great damage done the territory of New Mexico by reports that have gone out in flaming circulars and in articles written for news-

37. Territory of New Mexico: *Biennial Report of the Bureau of Immigration for the Years 1889 and 1890*. By the Secretary. (Santa Fe, 1891), pp. 4-8.

38. The pamphlets referred to were published by the Bureau in 1895, 1896, and 1897.

papers devoted to immigration, saying to the people of the east: "Here are farms, and with your plow and your family, you will raise crops equal to those in the east! Come and take this virgin soil." What has been the result? I could point you to two or three instances, where colonies have been brought into this Territory under those representations, and they have found it entirely different from what they expected. They have expended their little means, and returned to their former homes or some other land, to tell their tale of woe; and the misrepresentations of the Territory of New Mexico are made to their neighbors and all who hear them. Thus, immigration to New Mexico is dead.³⁹

Naturally, an occasional discouraging note had little effect upon the work of the Bureau. The *Biennial Report for 1901-02* claimed that

Owing to the efforts of the Bureau, more capitalists, healthseekers, tourists and homeseekers have come to New Mexico during the years 1901 and 1902 than ever before in its history and that many persons, who finally made their permanent home in the Territory were brought here by the information scattered broadcast over the Union in the publications of the Bureau.⁴⁰

Probably one of the most effective channels for advertising New Mexico during the last two decades of the territorial period were the various expositions held during those years, especially the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893 and the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis in 1904.

L. Bradford Prince, who was governor of New Mexico when preparations were being made for the Chicago exposition, was very anxious that the territory should be well represented there. In his message to the legislature, in

39. *Optic*, March 18, 1892.

40. *Biennial Report of the Bureau of Immigration of the Territory of New Mexico for the Two Years Ending November 30th, 1902*. (Santa Fe, N. M., 1903), p. 7.

December, 1892, he declared that the event came at a most opportune time for the territory, and that there was no country or section to which it was of more importance than to New Mexico. "Notwithstanding all that has been said or written," he wrote, "the idea is prevalent outside of our own vicinity, that New Mexico is a land of dry and barren wastes, where there is little agriculture and no horticulture, where attempts at mining have been attended by failure and where nature has done almost nothing to attract or support a population. Good fortune now presents the opportunity of correcting all these errors. Kansas and Colorado had a similar opportunity presented to them, at the Centennial Exhibition in 1876, and took advantage of it in a way which impressed the entire nation and brought hundreds of thousands of citizens and millions of money to their aid."⁴¹

The task of making sure that New Mexico was well advertised at Chicago was entrusted to a territorial board of world's fair commissioners, of which William T. Thornton was president and W. H. H. Llewellyn secretary.⁴² A former Missourian who had come to Santa Fé as a healthseeker, Thornton had been chosen mayor of that city in 1891, being "the nominee of both political parties."⁴³ In spite of the latter's popularity, there is reason to believe that Frost was jealous of the new set-up, since the *Optic* asked what the secretary of the bureau of immigration hoped to accomplish "by making war on the Territorial Board of World's Fair Commissioners?"⁴⁴ The *Optic* said that Frost had fought the appropriation and done all he could to obstruct progress. He added that it was doubtful if Frost could find another person in New Mexico to agree

41. *Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Territory of New Mexico. Thirtieth Session.* (Santa Fe, 1893), P. XXXII.

42. The women of the territory were also organized under the leadership of Mrs. Edward L. Bartlett, for many years a leader in the social life of Santa Fé. Mrs. Bartlett contributed to the *Optic* for March 26, 1892, a long letter urging the need of the most comprehensive exhibit at Chicago.

43. Twitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 516, n.

44. *Optic*, April 28, 1892.

with him that the territory should not be represented at the fair.⁴⁵ Later it developed that, while the legislature had attempted to appropriate \$25,000 to advertise New Mexico at the fair, the law was defective and would probably not bring in more than \$12,000.⁴⁶ The result was that the commissioners held meetings in county seats throughout the territory to enlist popular support. Speaking in Las Vegas, Thornton explained the defect in the appropriation, and then said that the board had subscribed \$2,500 to be used in constructing a territorial building, of which one room would be devoted to New Mexico.⁴⁷ He declared that it was generally agreed

that probably in the life of none of us will an opportunity occur, again, when we of New Mexico can so thoroughly advertize her resources—the vast natural wealth that lies hidden within the bosoms of her mountains, and upon her plains, the beautiful valleys that can be made to blossom with irrigation as nowhere else in this country, our splendid sunshine, and our great health resorts!

Now, it is generally believed throughout the east that this is one vast desert; that there are a few insignificant mines scattered over New Mexico, but that it is not a place for a home-seeker, that there are no places for farms. There are many things, in our beautiful land, which I would love to exhibit, and would be interesting to the whole civilized world . . . but our poverty compels us to be practical. Hence, every other idea has been made secondary to the main idea of dissipating the erroneous eastern opinion of New Mexico's resources as a desirable home for the American immigrant of today.

Getting down to practical matters, Thornton stated that the board planned to get out a booklet which would contain fifty pictures of the products of the territory. One million copies were to be issued at seven cents a volume, and 10,000

45. *Optic*, April 28, 1892.

46. Statement of R. J. Palen, territorial treasurer. *Optic*, March 26, 1892; April 23, 1892.

47. *Optic*, April 23, 1892.

copies were to be given away each day of the fair. The board would canvass the counties, promising that every cent contributed would be spent in advertising the county where it was given. The meeting met with a hearty response in Las Vegas. The Commercial Club undertook to raise \$3,000 or more to advertise San Miguel county. It was stated that the Maxwell Land Grant company had subscribed \$2,500 and that the Eddy Irrigation company had made the second largest private contribution.⁴⁸

Col. T. B. Mills, superintendent of New Mexico's exhibit, was very optimistic as to the result of all this activity. Early in 1893 he gave the following interview to the Chicago *Dispatch*:

Our display of minerals and of horticultural products will be large, but we expect to surprise a great many people by our agricultural products. You see the soil down there contains sulphate of lime, which gives it wondrous strength and enables us to raise year after year the finest cereals in this country. The oats frequently attain the height of seven and one-half feet, and will average 125 bushels to the acre. Our agricultural wealth is not generally understood throughout the United States. The agricultural department at Washington sends to us each year for seed wheat to distribute.⁴⁹

Throughout the year the territorial press continued frequent references to the preparations being made in the territory. The *Optic* for April 21, 1893 stated that three carloads of New Mexico exhibits had been shipped, and three more were to follow. Three thousand pounds of minerals from the mines of the Magdalena district and a stuffed burro were mentioned specifically as being included. It was suggested that Governor Prince's art and curio

48. The *Rio Grande Republican* stated that Las Vegas was going to issue "40,000 immigration folders to be distributed at the World's Fair." It suggested that the Mesilla valley follow this example. *Rio Grande Republican*, quoted by *Optic*, March 3, 1893.

49. Chicago *Dispatch*, quoted by *Optic*, Feb. 23, 1893.

collection be borrowed to adorn the territorial building.⁵⁰

Doubtless the exposition served to remind thousands of people that New Mexico was actually a part of the United States, and to convince them that it was not an uninhabitable desert. The attendance was over twenty-seven and a half million, the average daily attendance over 172,000.⁵¹ "New Mexico Day," designed "to 'set the world a talking' about the wonderful Territory which will soon enter the grand sisterhood of states," was described fully by the *Optic*. The ringing of the liberty bell having served to attract a crowd, many responded to the invitation to gather at the Territorial building for the exercises of the day and to partake of the fruit—"products of New Mexico soil" which would be distributed.

Long before that hour, the building was crowded by a mass of people eager to learn something of the land which they had always looked upon as but a wild and almost worthless back yard of the U. S. Every son and daughter of the Sunshine state was besieged with questions regarding the land which was to so many a terra incognita, and every tongue grew eloquent as the beauty, productiveness and climate of the favored Territory were descanted upon.⁵²

Five speakers were on the program: Thornton, who had become governor of the territory the preceding spring; Ex-Governor Prince, Captain John Wallace Crawford, Francis L. Downs, and Bernard S. Rodey. While touching upon the past history of the territory, the speakers emphasized the present and the future. The last named speakers especially dwelt on the advantages offered by New Mexico to home seekers. Captain Crawford was a veteran of the Civil War and the wars with the Sioux and the Apaches, who had a ranch near San Marcial. "Captain Jack," as he was usually known, later dressed in buckskins and made a second talk,

50. *Ibid.*, April 27, 1893; *Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Territory of New Mexico. Thirtieth Session*, p. XXXIV.

51. *Encyc. Americana* (New York, 1938) vol. 29, p. 557.

52. *Optic*, Sept. 22, 1893.

which was "devoted to a correction of the general belief that the border men and especially the cowboys were outlaws from justice and blood thirsty desperadoes who would snuff out a life with as little compunction as they would snuff a candle. He pictured the cowboy in his true colors, as an honest, generous, hard-working man, and not the wild desperado shown by the fakirs on the theatrical stage and in the wild west shows with which the east has been so long afflicted." The "fruit distribution" which followed included peaches, pears, apricots, nectarines, and grapes. The correspondent of the *Optic* wrote:

It was an object lesson which will never be forgotten by those who participated in it, an advertisement of our resources greater in effect than all the tons of printed matter sent forth.

Altogether, New Mexico Day at the exposition seemed "a grand success," which did much to advertise the resources of the territory.⁵³

Governor Thornton had been succeeded by Miguel A. Otero when the St. Louis exposition was held in 1904. Determined that New Mexico should be well represented, the little governor secured a large appropriation from the legislature, even though State Senators A. B. Fall and W. A. Hawkins declared that he was trying "to pilfer thirty thousand dollars of the taxpayers' money for a social spree in St. Louis. . ."⁵⁴

Speaking of the results obtained, Otero says:
The New Mexico building at the exposition was an attractive structure in the mission style. The exhibit was designed to attract the attention of home-seekers and capitalists. In addition to Navajo blankets, Indian baskets, and pueblo pottery, there were samples of the apples, cotton, and wool raised in the territory. The collection of minerals was very comprehensive, turquoise being

53. The Chicago Sunday papers for Sept. 18th., were said to contain flattering notices of the event.

54. Otero, Miguel A., *My Nine Years as Governor of the Territory of New Mexico, 1897-1906* (Albuquerque, N. M., 1940), p. 305.

especially conspicuous. Ours was the only exhibit of this gem at the exposition.

"New Mexico Day" was celebrated by speeches by Governor Otero and Judge John R. McFie, who dwelt on the productiveness of the territory's farms, ranches, and mines, and its excellent financial condition. The reception which was held in the afternoon was said to have been attended by many members of prominent families in St. Louis who had known Otero as a boy, or his father and mother, as well as by "an unusually large number of people from the territory, including many representatives of its native population."⁵⁵ More than two thousand people were said to have attended the reception.⁵⁶

Thus these expositions served to carry something of New Mexico to countless throngs of people. About the same time certain lesser gatherings brought a much smaller number to the territory itself. Some of these were only passing through en route to California, and few concerned themselves seriously with an enquiry into the resources and possibilities of the territory in which they found themselves for a few fleeting hours. Probably none escaped, however, without more or less lasting impressions of New Mexico. Instead of carefully selected exhibits, they saw everything. They could see the desert from their train windows. Some went slumming, and saw the worst conditions in the native settlements. Those who cast a professional eye over the territorial newspapers during the spring of 1892 may have noted the intense rivalry which existed between the rising towns of the territory. On Feb. 23 an eastern congressman had introduced a bill into congress to establish a national sanitarium in northern New Mexico or southern Colorado.⁵⁷ Exactly three months later the house committee on military affairs, to which it had been referred, reported it adversely

55. *Ibid.*, quoting an unidentified St. Louis paper.

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 310, 313.

57. The bill was introduced by request by William Cogswell of Mass. *Congressional Record*, vol. 23, part 2, p. 1380.

and it was laid on the table.⁵⁸ The only result was to intensify the rivalry existing among the towns in the region referred to. Las Vegas, Santa Fé, and Albuquerque, were each anxious to secure the sanitarium for itself. The *Optic* proposed the use of Ft. Union, while the Albuquerque *Democrat* fought the suggestion, tooth and nail. The *Democrat* said:

Much of the winter weather at that point (Ft. Union) is almost ferocious, and blizzards sweep unobstructed over the rolling plains thereabouts with a force and bitterness that kill cattle in great numbers every year, and would be simply murderous in their effect upon weak-lunged people.⁵⁹

The same issue of the *Optic* complained that the Albuquerque press seemed

utterly unable to hear of any proposition for the benefit of the northern part of the territory, without at once strongly opposing and bitterly maligning the proposition, no matter what it may be.

Concretely, the *Optic* stated that the Albuquerque papers had described the proposed Denver and El Paso railroad as "a wild goose scheme." One of them had even declared that "the entire distance would not furnish sufficient traffic to pay for the construction of a single mile."⁶⁰ Perhaps the visitors were inclined to smile at such evidences of local rivalries. If so, they may have ceased smiling when they read that the new territorial capital had been burned—

58. *Ibid.*, part 5, p. 4563. The report said: "The bill appropriates \$50,000 for the establishment of a national sanitarium for consumptives. It also creates an expensive commission to be appointed by the President. The project is one that the committee does not think the Government ought to engage in. It therefore recommends that the bill do not pass." *House Reports, Fifty Second Congress, First Session*, vol. 5, report no. 1463.

59. Albuquerque *Democrat*, quoted by *Optic*, March 31, 1892. The *Democrat* concluded: "A commission to select a site in New Mexico for a government sanitarium would not hesitate to give the Rio Grande valley the preference over the high, cold country of northern New Mexico." Quoted by *Optic*, March 31, 1892.

60. Albuquerque had a railroad project of its own. The *Optic* for Feb. 23, 1892, said: "H. B. Ferguson's trip to New York in the interest of the Albuquerque-Durango road is considered auspicious. All Albuquerque is agog over this line. The survey maps and estimates were completed here last week."

probably by an incendiary who wished to revive the question of the removal of the capital from Santa Fé.⁶¹ The same issue of the *Optic* which reported this tragic loss to the taxpayers of the territory also quoted the *Denver News* to the effect that the Ortiz grant in New Mexico "should be thoroughly investigated by congress," as the surveyor general of the territory and others were involved in an illegal attempt to hold a large area of mineral land. More bad publicity for the territory was added by the *Optic* three days later, when the editor declared that the secret ballot was "especially needed in New Mexico, where the influence of a few families in each county is so overwhelming as to largely keep the masses in awe," and that "bribery and corruption of the voter were sadly on the increase in this territory."⁶²

One could scarcely say that New Mexico "put its best foot forward" in the spring of 1892, although it was just at that time that one group of visitors after another descended upon the territory. As these were mostly newspaper people, the thinking people of the territory realized the importance of cultivating their friendship. When the Press League Club arrived in January, the *Optic* declared "There could not have assembled in Las Vegas . . . a body of people more potent for influence on the destinies of our Territory . . ."⁶³ At an entertainment provided for the visitors, Dr. George T. Gould, the associate editor of the *Optic*, requested them

on their return to their fields of labor, to disabuse the minds of their readers of the erroneous opinion that the Spanish-American portion of our population are not qualified for statehood. He urged that, if they should have any pleasant recollections of their trip to this empire Territory, they would show it at home by taking our judgment in the case and advocating for us admission into the union and the cession to the new state of her arid lands.⁶⁴

61. *Optic*, May 13, 1892.

62. *Optic*, May 16, 1892.

63. *Optic*, Jan. 28, 1892.

64. *Ibid.*

The next group was well announced. The *Optic* for April 26 stated:

The National Editorial Association, consisting of several hundred representative journalists, and their ladies, will visit New Mexico, en route to California, about the middle of May.

Greeting them on their arrival, the *Optic* declared that New Mexico wanted statehood, and urged the visitors to "use the resistless power of the press" to help secure the admission of the territory to the union.⁶⁵ While the editors spent the forenoon in Las Vegas, they were unable to get away from the vicinity of the depot. The capitol was burned that night:⁶⁶ fortunately the six hundred copies of the *Optic* which were given them could have contained no word of that disgraceful event.⁶⁷ However, they doubtless were informed of it the next day, as they spent two hours in Albuquerque.⁶⁸

When Las Vegas entertained the Press League Association a spokesman of the organization⁶⁹ expressed the "amazement of the excursionists at what they had seen and learned of New Mexico, . . ."⁷⁰ However, in order to know what these strangers really did see and what impressions they retained one must turn to the columns of their newspapers after they got back on the job. Naturally, some were favorable, while others were the reverse. Let us consider an illustration of each.

The St. Paul *Globe* published a very unfavorable write-up of New Mexico. The writer called it "the most interesting part of greaserland," and described it as a region of adobe huts, drought, bleeding penitentes, tamales and chili con carni. Of East Las Vegas, he wrote:

65. *Optic*, May 12, 1892.

66. *Ibid.*, May 13, 1892.

67. *Ibid.*, May 12, 1892.

68. *Optic*, May 16, 1892.

69. Charles W. Price of the New York *Electrical Review*.

70. *Optic*, Jan. 28, 1892.

The people are picturesque, ignorant—bad. They do not know that New Mexico has become a possession of Uncle Sam. They practice their old Spanish customs, disregarding with contempt the newer habits induced by modern civilization.⁷¹

The writer said that he and his associates had “nosed” about the town for three hours, much impressed by the mud and cacti, the burros and the narrow streets, and the pictures of the saints. They noted in passing that the “new town” claimed to be the most important wool market in the Rocky Mountain region, as well as an educational center. On reaching Albuquerque, they had been driven to Old Town, which was described as “a quaint and dirty relict of Mexican life and manners.” The “bustling town” was pictured in terms of mud, garlic, gambling, prostitution and high prices.

This sensational article naturally got under the skin of the editor of the *Optic*. While he reprinted all of it that dealt with New Mexico, at the same time he denounced it editorially as a striking example of the prostitution of the press. “A bigger batch of lies,” he declared, “would be difficult to find in the adventures of Baron Munchausen.” The following day the *Optic* contained a second editorial referring to the article from the Minnesota newspaper. Appearing under the heading “A Waste of Welcome,” the editorial asked:

Is it any wonder that many in the states oppose the admission of New Mexico to statehood, when their ideas of our population, of the character of our people, or of our stage of prosperity and advancement, are gathered from such productions . . .?⁷²

In conclusion, the *Optic* declared that the citizens of Las Vegas had been “remarkably kind to these runabout newspaper people,” but it had “become convinced that they were casting pearls before swine.” He added:

The members of the Indiana excursion were breakfasted at the Plaza and dined at the Monte-

71. *Optic*, June 14, 1892.

72. *Ibid.*, June 15, 1892.

zuma; and they . . . were the only ones who were gentlemen enough to appreciate their treatment. They went home and not only wrote well of New Mexico, but they seemed to think that they were under obligation to make an effort to secure information about this country and to convey it correctly to their readers.

Certainly the editor of the Plymouth (Indiana) *Democrat* gave a much more wholesome picture of the territory than did the *St. Paul Globe*. Editor McDonald told how he and some colleagues from northern Indiana had spent a day in Santa Fé, where they were greatly interested in the palace of the governors, and especially in the room in which General Lew Wallace had written *Ben Hur*. After visiting the church of San Miguel, the Indian school and the site of old Ft. Marcy, they had been entertained hospitably by Solicitor General E. L. Bartlett and his wife. They also met Antonio Joseph and saw the new capitol building, and came to "realize more than ever the injustice being done to a good and brave people in the unjust refusal of a partisan bound congress to admit them to statehood." Max Frost was described as "a man whose wonderful fund of information concerning the ancient city and the territory was of more value to the excursionists than wagon loads of printed matter."⁷³

The many newspaper men who glimpsed New Mexico in the early nineties furnished a considerable amount of free publicity for the territory. Had more of them been as fortunate as Editor McDonald in meeting the right people, there might have been a good deal more of the right kind of publicity. Whether good or bad, however, it was soon checked by the panic of 1893. People could not afford to travel, and they became too much absorbed in their own problems to give much thought to the distant territory.

Probably the irrigation convention held in Las Vegas in March, 1892, promised to do more to boost the territory than all of the visiting newspaper men put together. When

73. *New Mexican*, Dec. 15, 1891.

the first general irrigation convention in the arid west had been held at Denver in 1873, Acting-governor W. G. Ritch, after writing many letters, had succeeded in inducing only one resident of New Mexico to attend.⁷⁴ The *Optic*, however, stated that the Las Vegas convention was attended "by a large gathering of representative men of the territory" and "by many strangers from other territories and states."⁷⁵ H. C. Hovey, well known in scientific circles in the east,⁷⁶ described the convention in an article in the *Scientific American*. He placed the attendance at 300, and implied that they were almost altogether from the territory.⁷⁷ Evidently much interest was aroused. The *Optic* pointed out that it was very appropriate that the first irrigation convention of the southwest should be held in New Mexico, "since irrigation had been practised there long before the thought of it had entered the mind of the Mormon prophet . . . Then, also," the *Optic* added, "New Mexico is the third in the list of states and territories in the extent of her irrigated land, being exceeded in that particular only by California and Colorado."⁷⁸ The time also seemed auspicious. Charles B. Eddy, Charles W. Green, and J. J. Hagerman had shown in the Pecos valley what irrigation could do for the territory. The *Optic* for Feb. 29 reported that emigrants were passing through El Paso "in car load lots" for Eddy, which had been created a county the preceding year. The *Optic* added:

What was once considered a desert is now under irrigation, and thousands of acres have been reclaimed. Emigrants from western Texas, Arizona and New Mexico, are pouring into the valley in large numbers. This only shows what might be true of every part of the Territory, were immigration properly and systematically pursued.

74. This statement was made by W. G. Ritch himself in a speech at the Las Vegas meeting. *Optic*, March 18, 1892, p. 1, col. 3.

75. *Ibid.*, March 22, 1892.

76. *Who's Who in America*, 1899-1900 (Chicago, 1899), p. 353.

77. *Scientific American*, quoted by the *Optic*, April 14, 1892.

78. *Optic*, March 10, 1892.

The *Optic* declared that the Pecos valley was "the best advertized part of New Mexico," and that enterprizes were "developing with proportionate rapidity."⁷⁹ Residents of the Mesilla valley and the Maxwell land grant company had also showed the way. In fact, Hovey stated that 400,000 acres of land in New Mexico were already under irrigation.⁸⁰ Claims were made that sugar beets, raisins, alfalfa and all kinds of fruit could be grown on this land.

The convention lasted three days and was closed by a banquet at the Montezuma hotel. "Thus, we had an opportunity," Hovey wrote, "not only to discuss the grave problems of political economy but also to watch at a safe distance the fantastic mazes of Mexican dances, and to see the most brilliant society of the southwest."⁸¹ William Hall Poore of *Irrigation Age* (Denver) told the convention "the eyes of the east are upon New Mexico," and promised "a campaign which means the building of a greater and grander civilization beyond the 100th meridian."⁸² Enthusiasm was at a high pitch. The men who had put Eddy county on the map had been remarkably successful in bringing capital into the territory, so the long forgotten territory must have seemed to be on the threshold of a wonderful development. Probably no one at the convention had an inkling of the financial depression which was soon to paralyze the Pecos valley, the territory and the nation. It is impossible to tell what the irrigation convention might have accomplished for New Mexico, had it been followed by years of prosperity. Certainly the depression came at a bad time for the territory.

The most famous occasion which brought visitors to New Mexico during the nineties was the first reunion of the Rough Riders, which was held in Las Vegas in June, 1899. Col. Theodore Roosevelt, who was governor of New York

79. *Optic*, April 15, 1892.

80. *Scientific American*, quoted by *Optic*, April 15, 1892. These figures included 100,000 acres in the Maxwell grant and 30,000 in the Montoya grant.

81. Quoted from the *Scientific American* by the *Optic*, April 14, 1892.

82. *Optic*, March 17, 1892. Originally a New Englander, Poore had been a health-seeker in New Mexico many years before this.

at the time, occupied the center of the stage, and it was on this occasion that he enthusiastically promised to go to Washington to work for the admission of the territory. The Albuquerque *Citizen* felt that much good had been accomplished at the reunion. It said:

The celebration at Las Vegas has greatly helped the territory in its struggle to secure statehood. The eastern visitors were surprised to see at Las Vegas a modern city with every convenience and comfort, and a crowd of 10,000 people celebrating the victory of a New Mexico regiment in Cuba. They had expected to find Indians, cowboys, and desperadoes. . . .

Gov. Roosevelt, of N. Y., and the eastern newspaper men who attended the celebration are outspoken in favor of giving the territory statehood. H. H. Kohlsaatt, of the *Chicago Times Herald*, which paper has heretofore opposed statehood for the territory was at the reunion and saw such signs of patriotism and civilization that he has changed his views, and his great paper will hereafter urge statehood for New Mexico. The same can be said for the *Chicago Record*; and the *Capital*, the leading paper in Iowa, published at Des Moines, the home of Congressman Henderson, who will be the next speaker of the house, will urge the claims of New Mexico for admission.

The CITIZEN, several days before the reunion took place, predicted that if the celebration was well attended and the arrangements as they should be, that statehood would be materially helped. The prediction has been more than verified. If properly pushed the bill admitting New Mexico, Arizona, and Oklahoma will pass congress next winter. President McKinley favors the measure. Governor Roosevelt says that he will visit Washington to help pass the bill and Senator Elkins will do everything he can to aid in the matter.⁸³

Thus, we have seen that during the 1890's and early 1900's New Mexico received a great deal of publicity through the work of the Bureau of Immigration and through

83. Albuquerque *Citizen*, June 28, 1899.

various expositions and conventions. As a matter of fact, so many agencies were working to advertise the territory that we can mention only a few of them. From time to time, the United States Department of Agriculture published literature which testified to the agricultural possibilities of New Mexico.⁸⁴ The newspapers of the territory were always on the job. Thus on Jan. 3, 1890, the *Silver City Enterprise* issued a special edition and sent copies all over the country. In view of the declining price of silver, the *Enterprise* placed less emphasis upon the mineral wealth of the region, and more upon pastoral wealth, pointing out that the recent pacification of the Apaches had made the country safe for cattle raising. The value of the region to the healthseeker was also stressed. In issue after issue the *Optic* carried a full column, setting forth the advantages of Las Vegas. After visiting that city, Captain Tom Collier, editor of the *Raton Range*, said in that paper that "the deservedly prosperous city of the meadows" was filling up with "most desirable citizens."

The live and aggressive people of this city are intelligently placing their claims for immigration before the eastern people, and their efforts are meeting with the most satisfactory results.⁸⁵

The Maxwell land grant company advertised its irrigated farm lands for sale in the *Optic*, and also through its headquarters, which in 1892 were changed from New York to Raton.⁸⁶ The other newspapers and towns of the territory, the railroads and the promoters of projected lines all sought to sell New Mexico to both settlers and capitalists. On the eve of the panic in 1893, Las Vegas and other towns in New Mexico were greatly agitated over the proposed Denver to El Paso shortline. Sixty thousand dollars for the new road was raised in Las Vegas,⁸⁷ and some fear was expressed

84. *Optic*, Feb. 29, 1892.

85. *Raton Range*, quoted by *Optic*, Feb. 20, 1892.

86. *Ibid.*

87. *Optic*, April 23, 1892.

that Jay Gould would gobble up the new road.⁸⁸ Denver capitalists were much interested, and the *Post* declared that the short line would open up a new field rich in agriculture, grazing and mining, and would also secure the trade of Old Mexico for Denver.⁸⁹ Railroad men as far away as Boston were contacted regarding the proposed road.

If a variety of agencies were seeking to sell New Mexico to the nation, so were a large number of individual residents of the territory. Rich men, poor men, bankers, politicians—all had one thought—to put New Mexico on the map. It would, of course, be impossible to mention all those who served the territory in this way, or even to tell the whole story regarding any one individual. Let us, however, conclude this article by considering the activities of some of the promoters who worked to boom New Mexico.

A number of these naturally were territorial officials whose duties often took them to Washington and other eastern cities. Among the governors of New Mexico probably L. Bradford Prince and Miguel A. Otero were most active in this way. The former had important connections in the east, served for years as a delegate to the convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church,⁹⁰ and attended the Trans-Mississippi commercial congress each year. Whether visiting his old friends on Long Island, or attending a convention, he never forgot to put in a good word for New Mexico.⁹¹ He frequently attended the Trans-Mississippi convention on statehood for the territories, and each year

88. *Optic*, March 30, 1892. Jay Gould was in El Paso for his health for some time in the spring of 1892. Later he spent ten days in Las Vegas, and also visited Albuquerque. Naturally, the visit of the railroad king put New Mexico in the news. The *Optic* for May 16 said: "the latest *New York World* presents a picture of Mr. Gould viewing the country from the platform of his car, Atlanta." It also excited a good deal of interest as to his interests in New Mexico. Jefferson Reynolds sought to interest Gould in the new railroad, apparently without success. The financier was reported to own "a great deal of coal land near White Oaks," and it thought that he "may dabble some in Pecos irrigation, and may gather into his fold the Pecos valley railroad." *Optic*, March 17, 21, 29, 30, May 16, 1892.

89. *Denver Post*, quoted by *Optic*, Oct. 12, 1892. The *Post* said: "White Oaks is at present the greatest mining camp in America without railroad connection."

90. *Optic*, Oct. 17, 1895.

91. *New Mexican*, Nov. 27, 1891, citing *Jamaica (N. Y.) Journal*.

secured the passage by the convention of a resolution favoring the admission of the territory to the union. A ready writer as well as a speaker, he often wrote leading newspapers in the east regarding New Mexico and her people. Such communications were usually lengthy and well-reasoned, and served as a reply to some recent attack on the territory. Thus the letter of his which appeared in the *New York Tribune*, April 17, 1888, denied the report being circulated in the east that the Mormon element in New Mexico was already so strong as to control affairs in the territory, as well as the idea that the "Mexican" population was "lawless, unintelligent, and unfitted for self-government, . . .," and that, unless there was a preponderance of "American" voters, there would be danger in statehood. Combating these erroneous ideas, he declared that the Mormon population of the territory was "utterly insignificant," and that the native people were conservatives who helped to stabilize the restless Americans who were coming in. The possession of this conservative element, Prince argued, gave New Mexico a "special advantage as a self-governing community over most other territories."

Otero was also quite active, but in a different way. Throughout his nine years as governor he was constantly visiting the east, where he had a wide acquaintance among politicians and newspaper men. He gave out many interviews, but was not inclined to write lengthy communications for the press. Otero lost his prominence as a crusader for statehood when his two terms as governor were over; whereas Prince probably did as much to secure statehood as a private citizen as he did as governor of the territory.⁹²

As a general rule, the business men who sought to bring capital to New Mexico worked quietly. Consequently, they left few traces of their activities in the newspapers.

92. For a fuller account of Otero's activities, see chapter XV of his *My Nine Years as Governor of the Territory of New Mexico, 1897-1906*. Gov. Thornton was probably not as active in getting publicity for the territory as either his predecessor or his successor. However, en route to the Atlanta exposition in 1895, he gave out interviews to the *New Orleans Picayune* and other southern papers.

Apparently the politicians were much more inclined to let the public know what they were doing, hence it is easier to get some idea of their activities, even if we are left in the dark as to what they actually accomplished. Thus, in February, 1890, when Eugene A. Fiske and Miguel Salazar had returned from Washington, where they had gone to make sure of their confirmation as United States district attorneys, the former gave an interview to the *New Mexican* in which he said:

I talked with a great many members of congress, and while they seemed to be inclined to do us justice I was surprised to find that generally speaking they had gathered a very inaccurate idea of the capabilities of New Mexico and the character of its people. Some of them seemed to think that two-thirds of the residents of New Mexico go about in a semi-barbaric condition dressed in a breech-clout and a six-shooter. I introduced Major Salazar as a representative New Mexican and some of the congressmen appeared amazed. He made an excellent impression in behalf of our Spanish-American citizens. I think it would be a good thing for the territory if more of our representative native born were to show themselves in Washington and congress would soon come to recognize how erroneous is its idea of these people. I spent much time in explaining away and correcting the numerous wrongful impressions created in the minds of congressmen by slanderers and falsifiers.⁹³

Salazar gave an interview to the *Socorro Chieftain*, which confirmed what Fiske had said. Among other things Salazar said:

The majority of the members of Congress know little about us and care less. Their general impression of us is that we are only about half civilized, and that the bulk of the population out here still feels that it owes allegiance to Old Mexico. They looked at me with astonishment and incredulity when I told them I was a native

93. *New Mexican*, Feb. 4, 1890.

born Mexican and not the best specimen by any means to be found out here.⁹⁴

Two other political leaders who helped to make publicity for New Mexico were Alexander L. Morrison and Clarence Pullen. The former was an Irishman whom President Harrison appointed registrar of the United States land office in Santa Fé. As he was well known in Republican circles in Ohio, and was a very effective speaker, he frequently took part in political campaigns there. According to the *Raton Range*, he always said something "to remind his hearers that he hails from New Mexico," so that the territory derived a good deal of publicity from his speaking tours. Naturally, he was also at all times ready to say a word for his adopted home in private conversation also. Thus he wrote the *New Mexican* in November, 1891, of an interview with James G. Blaine, who was secretary of state at the time. "Immediately after the usual courtesies," Morrison said, "he began to make particular inquiries about New Mexico and whether the climate was as fine as he had been given to understand."⁹⁵ Pullen, formerly surveyor general of the territory, gave a lecture on New Mexico at Cooper Institute in December, 1890. Speaking of this event, the *New York Sun* said:

... it is safe to say that there are but few of the citizens of these northern states who have another idea of New Mexico than that it is an arid, uninteresting and unpleasant region, destitute of picturesque features, and without history or traditions. Those of our citizens, however, who listened to the lecture given last Saturday evening, in the Cooper Union free course on "New Mexico,

94. Socorro *Chieftain*, Feb. 28, 1890.

95. Blaine, who was in poor health and had only a little over a year to live, was probably considering the possibility of seeking his health in New Mexico. Joseph Medill, who wrote on Nov. 30, 1891, urging him to run for the presidency the following year, also suggested that he might retire from the cabinet and spend the winter between his election and his inauguration in the "balmy, sunny, health-giving, anti-malarial climate of Southern California." Muzzey, David Saville, *James G. Blaine, A Political Idol of Other Days* (New York, 1934), pp. 469-70. Blaine did plan to spend the winter in California, but the idea "was reluctantly abandoned in view of the strain which the long journey would be on his health." *Ibid.*, p. 489.

Historical and Picturesque," got some knowledge about this territory, which must soon become a state of the union. They heard of its areas of fertile soil and its grazing fields, of its grand mountain ranges, lofty plateaus, broad rivers and fertile valleys. Its mineral resources are now attracting the notice of heavy investors; its commercial and agricultural activity is increasing with the increase of its population, and its railroads are being extended.⁹⁶

Evidently the *Sun* thought quite well of Pullen and his efforts. Some two years later the *Optic* noted that while he still had property interests in New Mexico "and legions of friends and admirers," he was now an editorial writer on the staff of the New York paper.

Possibly few residents of New Mexico did as much toward interesting easterners in the territory as William H. H. Llewellyn of Las Cruces. A veteran Indian fighter, the "Major" was an interesting character who had the knack of making friends easily. As early as March 6, 1890, the *San Marcial Reporter* gave him the following tribute:

Major W. H. H. Llewellyn is a citizen of whom New Mexico may well be proud. He takes every opportunity to speak a good word for this territory when away. The Washington, Chicago, and St. Louis papers have contained recent interviews with the major and in all of these talks . . . Major Llewellyn has something good to say in favor of New Mexico. Let our other citizens who travel follow the good example thus set and New Mexico will attract the attention that brings immigration and capital.

In view of this high praise, it is interesting to note that Llewellyn was still on the job seven years later, when the *Philadelphia Times* described a visit he made to the capital of Pennsylvania as follows:

William H. H. Llewellyn, speaker of the New Mexico House of Representatives, was given an

96. *New York Sun*, quoted by the *New Mexican*, Dec. 20, 1890.

impromptu reception this morning in the house. Mr. Llewellyn is on his way to Washington on business, and stopped over in Harrisburg to visit the legislature. When he made his appearance in the hall of the house he was invited to a seat by the side of Speaker Boyer.

A resolution was offered by Mr. Muehlbronner, of Allegheny, and adopted, that the house take a recess for ten minutes to allow the members to pay their respects to the distinguished guest and that they be introduced to him personally by Speaker Boyer. The members formed a line and shook hands with the visitor, and welcomed him to the state capitol.

A very versatile man, Llewellyn was not only a lawyer, a politician and a soldier, but was also actively interested in the economic development of the territory. At one time the livestock agent of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé,⁹⁷ he became "largely identified with the mining and fruit growing interests of Southern New Mexico."⁹⁸ In the spring of 1892, the major gave an interview to the *Denver Republican* in which he predicted that the "Atchison", as it was usually called, would build an extension into the White Oaks country.⁹⁹ When both the depression and the Spanish-American war had passed, Llewellyn was still interested in promoting a railroad in the territory. The Roosevelt papers in the Library of Congress show that he made at least one effort to interest his former colonel in one of these schemes. In a letter of April 29, 1901, he asked Roosevelt to put him in touch with "a bright active man from the east" who would help in building a railroad from El Paso to Durango, Colorado. He suggested that both he and the colonel might make money out of the project. He argued that there would be no impropriety in Roosevelt having an interest in the concern, as no concession of any kind was to be asked from the government. The colonel, who had been elected vice-president the preceding November, showed an

97. *Optic*, April 5, 1892.

98. *Optic*, Feb. 8, 1897.

99. *Denver Republican* quoted by *Optic*, April 5, 1892.

unusual modesty. In his reply of May 6, 1901, he said:

Unfortunately I am about the very last man to whom it is worth your while writing in a matter like the one referred to. I think I may say that I am a fairly good colonel of a volunteer regiment or Governor of a State, and there are other jobs I should like to try, but railroading and mining are hopelessly out of my line. I have never been connected with them myself and I would not have the vaguest idea whom to try to interest in them. I am awfully sorry not to be able to help you.

If the major failed to interest Col. Roosevelt in his schemes, perhaps it is significant that he had friends and acquaintances among the political leaders of the Quaker commonwealth. At any rate, Pennsylvania capital was soon being employed to build a railroad in New Mexico, and the Pennsylvanians in congress began to show unusual interest in the fate of the territory. Before we go into that story, however, we must consider the aid which the newspapers of the southwestern states gave in advertising New Mexico.

BOOK REVIEWS

Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest, 1680-1682. Introduction and annotations by Charles W. Hackett; translations of original documents by Charmion C. Shelby. Parts I-II, being Vols. VIII-IX of the *Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940*. (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1942. ccx+262 pp.; xii+430 pp.; glossary; index. \$10.00.)

Because of his important undergraduate and graduate studies, a quarter century ago, in the sector of Southwestern history treated in these volumes, Dr. Hackett has long been recognized as the especial authority on this period. It is doubtless very gratifying to him, as it will be to students of the Southwest, to have his various monographs thus consolidated and, supplemented by additional source material, published in such a fine way.

It is regrettable, however, to find that Dr. Hackett has not improved the opportunity to edit out numerous misreadings of his earlier work, and that he has fallen into other serious errors through his reliance on transcripts rather than originals or facsimiles. Also, he seems to be unacquainted with important source materials on his period which have become accessible since he did his University work.

Apparently he knows A. G. I., Guadalajara 138, only through secondary transcripts of it and has made no use of the Library of Congress facsimile which was gotten in 1929; nor does he anywhere explain that the "testimonio de los autos tocantes" and the "testimonio de los autos pertencientes" are not originals but contemporary certified transcripts. The originals of both these sets of autos he finds correctly at Mexico City in A. G. N., Provincias Internas 37 and 34 respectively; but these again he knows only through second-hand copies, although the originals were among a great number of records photographed for New Mexico in

1930, and for some years they have been accessible at the Coronado Library of the University of New Mexico.

He tells us (I, pg. xi) that the Bancroft compilation known as "N. Mex. Docs." was copied chiefly from A. G. N., Historia 25 and 26, in Mexico; but he does not evaluate this material. Not only is it inferior to the originals in Provincias Internas, but also to the transcripts in A. G. I., Guadalajara 138; the latter were contemporary copies whereas these in Mexico City were made less carefully and a century later. Even so, facsimiles of A. G. N., Historia 25-26 have been accessible for some years but Dr. Hackett has been satisfied to work from transcripts which he knew were defective. (See his *Bandelier: Historical Documents* . . . , III, 335-339, footnotes.)

Though he does not cite the earlier work of Miss Anne Hughes, he seems (I, p. cxix, note 2) to follow her in identifying correctly the "auttos sobre los socorros," but he is satisfied to cite (as did she) another source as "an expediente without a title"! Yet on the very next page he does properly identify the latter as "Expediente 2" in A. G. N., Provincias Internas 35.

Lastly, as to sources, Dr. Hackett seems wholly unacquainted with the ten legajos of New Mexico records in the Biblioteca Nacional of Mexico City, of which in 1930 France Scholes secured complete facsimiles for the Library of Congress. Among these are important originals which might have saved our editor and translator from some of their mistakes. Take, for example, Father Ayeta's remarkable letter of December 20, 1680 (I, pp. 212-217), which ought to stand out as a high-light of this whole documentation; instead, the vigorous sprightly account of Ayeta is fumbled repeatedly. Governor Otermín had not "marched" but he "came running" from Fray Cristóbal to Salineta, fifty-four leagues in three days! And Father Ayeta with his helpers did not simply "work," they "battled" from dawn to dusk to get that cart with its precious supplies free from the quicksand in the flooding river. Again, some copyist misread the "U" sign;

Ayeta wrote that he had bought 1U600 (1,600) head of cattle,—not 11,600 (p. 215). There never was a Fray “Alvaro” de Zavaleta in New Mexico (same page); the original reads “Fray Juan,” and with him also there were “four other” religious. “La Providencia” is a misreading of “La Purísima.” And who are the illustrious “Escamiela” (I, p. 216) to whom the Father Procurador wanted to pay his respects and so he had decided to gallop forty leagues in four days? The original text reveals that it was “Escañuela” whom we at once recognize as another Franciscan, the then bishop of Durango! And then (below, same page) we have the astonishing picture of Ayeta asking for an important Church preferment for his secretary “who is now fifteen years old”! Every padre had two ages, and Ayeta meant, of course, that his secretary had been “in religion” for sixteen (not fifteen) years—which would make him actually about forty years old.

On the next page (I, p. 217) is a case of careless editing, of which other examples are unfortunately numerous throughout the two volumes. Here the unwary reader will naturally think that the *fiscal* in Mexico, January 3, 1681, is talking about the preceding Ayeta letter of December 20. But the source shows (A.G.I., Guadalajara 138, doc. 19, f. 55v.) that he means Ayeta’s letter of September 11 which, with accompanying papers, is here found entirely out of sequence (I, pp. 106-112).

And why has Dr. Hackett repeated (I, 108-111), with all his earlier mistakes (see *Bandelier: Historical Documents* . . . , III, 335-339), Ayeta’s list of the twenty-one martyred religious? This is another case where he might have found the original among the facsimiles from the Biblioteca Nacional; even a facsimile from A.G.I., Guadalajara 138, would have corrected most of the mistakes. Instead, he relied solely on the Ayer, Bancroft, and Bandelier copies (or copies from such copies), and in consequence seven out of seventeen dates are wrong; also there was no Fray Antonio Sanchez de “Pio” (p. 109); Espeleta (p. 111) had

entered "more than thirty years ago"; and (end of document) there were three who had died a natural death shortly *before* the rebellion, not "after."

Turning back to Dr. Hackett's extended introduction, we note that San Ildefonso and San Juan were not on the west bank of the Rio Grande (I, p. xxxi); there was no Fray "Juan" de Morales (pp. xxxv, 10), nor Fray "Francisco" de Mora (I, 98, 110), nor Fray "Felipe" Daza—despite the certified copy in A.G.I., Guadalajara 138, doc. 19, f. 45v. Ample evidence shows that this padre's name was "Juan." "Father Antonio" (p. xl) is a misreading by some copyist from *Auttos tocantes* of "Padre Custodio" (I, 25). Los Cerillos is south, not west, from old San Marcos (p. xli, note). The Vargas *auttos* of 1692-93 would have cleared up the editor's doubt as to the moving of San Felipe (I, xliii, note); Puaráy was not north of Sandía (pp. xlix, clxvii). "Arizona" as of the seventeenth century is an anachronism (p. iii),—the Hopi towns were in New Mexico until 1863.

Dr. Hackett's citation of Villagutierre (p. lxxxvii) seems to show that he is unacquainted with that author's great manuscript work, *Historia de la conquista, pérdida, y restauración de . . . la Nueva Mexico*,—of which the Library of Congress has had a facsimile for over ten years. And in the same note, why criticize Thoma rather than Bancroft whom Thoma followed so cedulously, mistakes and all?

"Yumas" (p. cxiv, line 6) is an evident error for "Sumas," but we cannot pass over Dr. Hackett's failure properly to locate the Estero Largo (pp. cxxv, ccviii). It is true that Otermín wrote of it (II, 370) as forty leagues above the camp at San Lorenzo, but either he misspoke himself or he was greatly exaggerating; that distance is definitely disproved by his own *auttos* which he had just completed. From Doña Ana (II, 369) he had detoured with a small party to scout the Organ Mountains (and incidentally he made the first recorded visit to La Cueva!) On the third day he rejoined his weary train, moving slowly down the valley, at "the pools of Fray Blas." Three days later (six

from Doña Ana) they were at the Estero Largo. From the *auttos* and from our own acquaintance with that valley, we should place this about at Brazito; and in fact, it is so identified on Father Pichardo's map of 1811—which Dr. Hackett himself edited. Otermín's "forty leagues" is absurd, for it would put the Estero Largo far north of Doña Ana, somewhere out in the Jornada desert.

At the top of page cxlviii, Dr. Hackett seems to think that, before December 10, Mendoza at Sandía had received a letter which Otermín wrote at Isleta on December 11. At the center of page 178, a passage beginning "Adonde consta nos falta el prelado" has been mistranslated; eighteen plus two does not make twenty-one martyrs.

It would make our review far more technical than it already is, to discuss the various places where documents have been published out of proper relation to each other and without any editorial explanation. This may be due in part to defects in the transcripts used, but in any case it is disconcerting. The careful student will have to go repeatedly to the originals—and this is not easy because most of the citations are inadequate.

Balancing in some measure the adverse character of our review, we are glad to point out that the great bulk of this material on an important and critical period of New Mexico history has never before been readily available. The translation is on the whole excellent, and certainly the general reader will here get a documented picture of the men and events of those times which can be had in no other way.

L. B. B.

John Jacobus Flournoy: Champion of the Common Man in the Antebellum South. By E. Merton Coulter. (Savannah: The Georgia Historical Society, 1941. Pp. 112. \$2.00)

The progress of science and of democracy have combined to make the work of the historian more difficult. The one has forced him to give a footnote for everything he says, while the other has turned his attention largely away from

kings and nobles to the common man. Unfortunately the nobodies in the past have left scant documentary evidence of what they did and what sort of people they were. Occasionally someone like Deveraux Jarratt, the backcountry parson who had almost become a gentleman by the time of his death in Virginia in 1794, endears himself to the student because through his autobiography he speaks for a class of which we know so little. And now Professor Coulter has earned our gratitude by digging up another "forgotten man."

In his *College Life in the Old South* (1928), Coulter said that the people of Athens, Georgia, were sometimes thrown into laughter by the sight of an old man with a long white beard, riding a mule through the streets. An eccentric person, he always wore an India-rubber overcoat, winter and summer alike. An educated man who had drifted into poverty, this John Jacobus Flourney had a mania for writing to the newspapers and to the prominent men of the day, "and for advancing ideas more fantastic than the tales of the Arabian Nights." He ran for the legislature for fifty years, "and sometimes received as high as a dozen votes." One might think that this remarkable character had been borrowed from Longstreet's *Georgia Scenes!* Fortunately, Professor Coulter kept running across fragments from the pen of this intriguing unknown, and could not resist the impulse to run him down and see what manner of man he was. The result of his industrious research has been the recovery of a man who was misunderstood in his own time and who has been so completely lost sight of that he is not mentioned in *The South in the Making of the Nation*, or in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

No one would claim that Flourney was an influential man in his day, although he did possess some wealth and education. Furthermore, he was ambitious to be a leader and showed no lack of perseverance in presenting his ideas to the public. Badly defeated every time he ran for the legislature, he was equally unsuccessful in persuading the

president to send him "to some big country as Ambassador," or to make him governor of Deseret. Everything combined to make him a laughing stock. He became deaf and almost dumb, and at times was mentally unsound. His wives proved unfaithful and ran away with his property; he was continually involved in litigation and almost always lost; and he was never able to sell anything he published. While he wrote at length advising leaders like Jefferson Davis, Andrew Johnson, and Charles Sumner on their problems, there is no evidence that these statesmen adopted any of his suggestions. One idea after another failed of realization. His first wife interfered when he sought to carry out his idea of "Trigamy," a species of polygamy which he had advocated in a pamphlet as a means of abolishing the brothel and the unmarried female from society. He felt that Georgia was treating her Indians wrongfully, but his tears did not save them from being removed to the wind-swept plains of the west. He asserted that the study of Latin and Greek was a waste of time, and that the colleges and universities of the day bred snobbery and contempt for the common man. He did not succeed, however, in making any change in the curriculum, or in setting up a school with a more utilitarian purpose. When he wrote a pacifist pamphlet, advocating the principle of a world court, he sold only one copy. He advocated temperance, but "too frequently" resorted to strong drink himself. He thought that the state should provide a free education, that all children should be compelled to attend school for four years, and that every family should be required by law to subscribe to a newspaper. His views on education never reached the people of Georgia, however, and little was accomplished. The one reform which he advocated successfully was the establishment of a school for the deaf and dumb. By presenting a petition to the legislature and by working as a lobbyist, he aroused interest so that Georgia finally accomplished something along this line.

Flournoy, then, may be remembered as a representative

of people of no importance, as well as the father of education for the deaf and dumb in his native state. His chief significance, however, is that he was an outspoken critic of southern institutions, who enjoyed complete freedom of speech. While of aristocratic birth himself, "he used every opportunity to stir up the poor against the rich," yet no attempts were made to suppress him. He boldly declared that the presence of the negro with his shiftless ways drove the planter on to acquire fresh fields and forced the poor man on worthless land. At the same time, the hiring out of slaves destroyed the market for free labor—unless the work was too dangerous to be done by valuable slaves. Thus, more than twenty years before Hinton R. Helper's *Impending Crisis*, Flournoy showed that the concentration of negroes in the south was responsible for its falling behind the north. For years Flournoy was obsessed with the idea that the only way in which the country might be saved from civil war and the amalgamation of the races was the expulsion of the negro from the United States.

While Professor Coulter's study is a little detailed, it is a significant and interesting human document, and deserves to be read widely.

MARION DARGAN

University of New Mexico.

Lewis H. Morgan's Journal of a Trip To Southwestern Colorado and New Mexico, June 21 to August 7, 1878. Leslie A. White, editor. (Reprint from *American Antiquity*, Volume 8, No. 1, July 1942. 26 pp.)

An addition to the author's two volume *Bandelier-Morgan Letters* (printed by the University of New Mexico Press) and his *European Travel Journal of Lewis H. Morgan* (a publication of the Rochester Historical Society), this booklet tells of the exploration trip which resulted in the publication in 1881, shortly before Morgan's death, of his classic *Houses and House Life of the American Aborigines*. The latter volume was published at the request of

the Archaeological Institute of America which had asked him to prepare for them a plan of archaeological exploration and research in the American field. Comments White: "It was Morgan who first undertook to interpret these ruins and to place Pueblo culture in the large perspective of New World history and ethnology."

The Journal begins under date June 21, 1878, Canyon City, Colorado, after a visit with Adolf Bandelier at Highland, Ill. The trip was made by way of Kansas City, Topeka, and Pueblo, traveling thence on a freight train to Canyon City. There Morgan met two Indians from Taos who said they were Mescaleros but not Apaches. From Canyon City the journey, in a wagon train, proceeded to Leadville and thence southward via Ponca Pass to the Animas, Mancos, Chaco and other tributaries of the San Juan. Under date of July 22, on Animas River, fifty-six miles from Animas City Morgan writes:

The ruins are remarkable for their size and present condition. There are the remains of four large pueblos, quite as large in accommodation as those on the Rio Chaco. * * * It is very much a copy of Hungo Pavie and nearly of the same dimensions. * * * The main building was very plainly five stories high, as there are six rows of apartments, and the side buildings four stories.

His deduction that these pueblos were built by the tribes of Cibola after Coronado captured their villages have been proven erroneous. A curious notation is that the ruins on the Mancos were first visited by Mr. John Gregor and Samuel Beach Axtell, governor of New Mexico, 1875-1879. The cliff houses in McElmo canyon, Montezuma Valley and other sites in the proximity of the "Four Corners" where the boundaries of New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and Utah meet were visited. On the return trip, 250 Utes were encountered on the Navajo river. Of Taos he noted:

The two edifices are connected on one side by a wall, and on the other not. The cacique is old and blind. He and the governor received us kindly.

There are three estufas connected with each building. They are round and below ground. We entered one of them by descending a ladder. * * * It is now evening. * * * We hear the boys singing, dancing. They are Iroquois all over. * * * The Taos Indians have fifteen dances and more (Nineteen are listed.). * * Men do all the field work. Women and men go to town together but the women do the trading. We met a man and woman this morning four miles from the pueblo, the man on horse and the woman on foot. * * * We have purchased quite an amount of pottery. * * * It is not made at Taos at present but at San Juan and sold to them.

Descriptions of mountain scenery throughout Colorado are vivid, of the pueblo ruins accurate, and altogether the monograph should arouse much interest because of the later and far more extensive exploration and research work in the same region. Footnotes and a brief biography of Morgan as well as a bibliography by Professor White, add to the value of the publication to present day students of southwestern archaeology.—P. A. F. W.

The Flag of the United States. By Milo Milton Quaife. (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1942, xiv+210 pp.; illustrations, index. \$2.00.)

Strange indeed is it, as the author comments, that "the true story of the Stars and Stripes is known to but few. In its stead, a volume of myth and tradition has developed, which by force of frequent repetition has impressed itself upon the public mind as actual history." This misinformation "is found even in such publications as the Boy Scout *Handbook* and the publications on the Flag issued by the U. S. Marine Corps and the United States Flag Association."

Dr. Quaife has written a book which will doubtless be provocative to many readers,—as when he shows that the "Betsy Ross" yarn is impossible historically; that it is a legend which started as recently as 1870. Beginning with the evolution of flags in early times as national symbols and

the story of the British flag, he goes on to describe the flags which were used by Spain, France, Holland, and England in colonial times, and the strange battle flags which were used in the American Revolution. The "Great Union Flag" raised by Washington during the siege of Boston had no stars; it was simply the British flag (with the "union" in the upper corner next the mast), the red field of which had been broken by six horizontal white stripes.

By act of the Continental Congress, June 14, 1777, the "union" was changed for a blue field with thirteen stars; but the flag created by that act was not intended for the use of land armies—it was needed by our ships on the high seas! In one or two cases during the Revolutionary War a flag may have been used which might be regarded as an early "Stars and Stripes," but the evidence is conclusive that there was no general use of such a national standard until long after that war had been fought to a finish.

Of course the main part of the book gives the history of our flag as it is today. It closes with two chapters on "fictions and myths," and a final inspirational chapter on "the meaning of the flag." Fifty illustrations in color add greatly to the fascinating and informative account.—L. B. B.

NECROLOGY

Grace McDonald Phillips. Born November 2, 1887, at Billings, Montana, Mrs. Phillips was the daughter of Thomas P. McDonald and of Marie A. Campbell McDonald, who now reside at Roswell, New Mexico.

Grace McDonald Phillips attended Annie Wright Seminary for six years, being graduated from her high school work there in 1906. She attended Wellesley College from 1906 to 1910, being graduated with an A. B. degree. In June 1916 she was graduated from the Law Department of the University of Washington and immediately became associated with the law firm of Grinstead & Laube, later becoming a partner in the firm.

On January 1, 1920, she opened an office in New Castle, Wyoming, and thereafter specialized in oil, land titles and probate matters. In 1923, she moved to Casper, Wyoming, to open a law office and continued her practice there until the year 1926 when she moved to Roswell, New Mexico.

While living in Casper, Wyoming, she was married on November, 1924, to W. A. Phillips from whom she was subsequently divorced. Of this marriage there were no children.

In Roswell she had been a charter member of the Business & Professional Women's Club and served as president for three or four years. For years she had been a member of the Roswell Woman's Club and served as president of the club for one year. For several years she was secretary of the Chaves County Bar Association until she became its president, 1935-1936. She was a member of the Protestant Episcopal church. She was also active in Republican party affairs.

Mrs. Phillips was a close student of law, especially with reference to oil and gas while practicing in Roswell, and had established a substantial business in that line at the time of her death.

Mrs. Phillips died after long illness, dating back to September 1940, for which she underwent a major operation in San Francisco. Death took place in St. Mary's Hospital at Roswell, on June 13, 1942. Funeral services were held on Sunday afternoon, June 15, the Rev. Henry H. Heard, rector of St. Andrews Episcopal church, officiating.—P. A. F. W.

Elmer E. Studley, of Raton and Long Island City, died at his home in the latter place on Sunday, September 6. Before coming to New Mexico he had been a journalist in Buffalo, N. Y., and was a first lieutenant of Infantry in Cuba during the Spanish American War. *Who's Who in America* gives the following additional biographical data: "Born on a farm in Cattaraugus county, N. Y., September 24, 1869, son of Jonathan Andrew and Lestina Hadley Studley; lineal descendant of Henry Dunster, first president of Harvard College; A. B. Cornell, 1892, LL.B. 1894, married Louise Knapp Foster, November 21, 1906 (died January 6, 1924). Admitted to New York Bar 1895; in practice Buffalo, N. Y., 1896-1898; Raton, New Mexico, 1900-1917, Long Island City, since 1917. Member of the New Mexico territorial legislature 1907, territorial statutory revision committee 1908; district attorney for Colfax and Union counties 1909-1910; member New Mexico State Board of Water Commissioners 1913-1915; deputy attorney general, state of New York 1924; United States Commissioner, eastern district of New York 1925-1926; Congressman-at-large for New York in the 73d Congress, 1933-1935; member Board of Veterans Appeals since 1935. Member Veterans of Foreign Wars, S.A.R., Phi Delta Phi. Democrat, Mason 32d degree, Elks, Cornell and Navy and Army Clubs. Home, Flushing, Long Island."—P. A. F. W.

Marion L. Fox, whose activities had a decided influence on the course of events in New Mexico, died at his home in Albuquerque on Tuesday evening, September 15, 1942, after a year's illness. Mr. Fox was born near Asheville, North

Carolina, on October 25, 1865, the son of John Jacob and Elizabeth Roberts Fox. He received his A.B. and LL.D. degrees from Tusculum College, Greenville, Tenn., and LL.B. degree from the University of Chicago. As a young man he traveled in the Far East, visiting the Philippines, and Japan.

After serving as reporter on the *Washington Post*, *New York Journal* and *Deadwood Pioneer Times*, he was editor of the *Sioux Falls Daily Press* from 1895 to 1904. He became editorial writer on the *Albuquerque Morning Journal* in 1912 serving until 1920, after which he was a free lance writer and publicity man, much of the time in the employ of the Republican state committee.

He conducted an endowment campaign for his alma mater, Tusculum, raising several hundred thousand dollars. A similar effort on behalf of a projected War Mothers National Memorial Hospital at Albuquerque, resulted in the establishment of the United States Veterans Hospital in that city.

Fox conducted classes in political economy at the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts at Mesilla Park and lectured on English at the University of New Mexico 1920-1921. While secretary-manager of the Albuquerque Chamber of Commerce, 1922-23, he also functioned as secretary of the Middle Rio Grande Reclamation Association and the Rio Grande Water Users Association, being largely instrumental in the passage of the law which established the Rio Grande Conservancy District, resulting in the drainage of the central Rio Grande valley in New Mexico.

Although a Republican, Mr. Fox was repeatedly employed by Democratic, Progressive and Independent campaign committees, and was executive secretary for the campaign to nominate W. G. McAdoo for president in 1924.

Says *Who's Who in America*: "Organized Capital News Service, Washington, D. C.; appointed a regent of the Spanish American Normal School at El Rito, 1928; member Bureau of Charities; active in tax reform movement; chair-

man of the campaign committee for adoption of amendment to the state constitution limiting property taxes to twenty mills on the dollar; chairman of committee appointed by State Federation of Taxpayers' Association for redrafting revenue laws of New Mexico 1934."

Fox was a member of the Presbyterian faith. He was the author of *Private Smith in the Philippines* (1900), and contributed on financial topics to various periodicals. He was married to Mary Orahood Russell on March 15, 1906, and had three children (adopted) Vernon S. Fox, Conservancy district employe, Charles Fox of Rolla, Mo., and Margaret Godfrey Fox (deceased). Funeral services were held on Wednesday, September 16, at the Fairview Park Crematory.—P. A. F. W.

Jay Turley, a picturesque figure in New Mexico history, a giant of a man, whose very appearance commanded attention, died at the U. S. Veterans Hospital in Albuquerque on Friday, September 18. Admitted to the New Mexico Bar in 1916, he gave his major attention to land and irrigation development, being also a civil engineer and interested particularly in the San Juan River basin.

Turley was born on April 16, 1877, near Fort Cameron, Utah, son of Omner and Luisa Ann Woodhouse Turley, western pioneers of English descent and parentage. He was a graduate of the Boise, Idaho, high school, and ran away from home to attend the State Agricultural College of Oregon. He read law under Governor L. Bradford Prince and others in Santa Fé, and later pursued special and graduate law courses at the University of Texas and at George Washington University, being admitted to practice before the United States Supreme Court in 1919. He practiced before various government departments and also was a member of the bar of the District of Columbia.

Captain in the 316th Engineers and later major in the 116th Engineers, he was gassed and disabled in France during the First World War. He had been a captain in the U. S. A. Reserves and was ordered into active service on

May 5, 1917, at the Presidio in San Francisco. Then he was transferred to the first engineers' training camp at Vancouver, Washington, where he graduated as valedictorian of his class. Before being ordered overseas on November 15, 1917, among the first 100,000 of the American Expeditionary Force, he had inducted into the Army more than 35,000 men. Upon his return from the War he removed from Santa Fé to Albuquerque, where he had his residence at the time of his death.

It was at the turn of the century that Turley came to Santa Fé, serving as a deputy U. S. surveyor. He was elected to the State Constitutional Convention from San Juan county and helped to formulate the State's irrigation code. He was postmaster of Turley in San Juan county from 1910 to 1913. From 1913 to 1916 he was consulting engineer for New Mexico in the boundary litigation with Texas. In politics, Major Turley was a Republican. He was a 32d degree Mason, and also an Elk; and he was a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. *Who's Who in America* lists a number of research and writing projects in which he had been engaged.

Turley was married three times, his first wife having been Urna Bradford Hickox, whom he married on September 7, 1904, being divorced seven years later. His second marriage lasted ten years and also ended in divorce. His third wife was Helen Stiles whom he married in Flagstaff, August 2, 1932. Brothers surviving him are W. Guy Turley of Santa Fé; Louis A. Turley of Norman, Okla.; and J. I. Turley of Los Angeles. He had five children, two sons and three daughters. Of the former, Theodore Roy, was drowned in the San Juan near Turley, and the other, Jay Bradford, is a newspaper man of Dallas, Texas. The daughters are: Dulce Omna, Alice Rosalinda and Urna Luree, one living in Arizona, and two in California.

The funeral took place in Santa Fé, with the Rev. C. J. Kinsolving of the Episcopal Church of the Holy Faith, and the Montoya y Montoya Post, American Legion, officiating. Interment was in the National Cemetery.—P. A. F. W.

The Historical Society of New Mexico

(INCORPORATED)

Organized December 26, 1859

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1861 — MAJ. JAMES L. DONALDSON, U. S. A.

1863 — HON. KIRBY BENEDICT

adjourned sine die, Sept. 23, 1863

re-established Dec. 27, 1880

1881 — HON. WILLIAM G. RITCH

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CONSTITUTION

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(As amended Nov. 25, 1941)

Article 1. *Name.* This Society shall be called the Historical Society of New Mexico.

Article 2. *Objects and Operation.* The objects of the Society shall be, in general, the promotion of historical studies; and in particular, the discovery, collection, preservation, and publication of historical material, especially such as relates to New Mexico.

Article 3. *Membership.* The Society shall consist of Members, Fellows, Life Members and Honorary Life Members.

(a) *Members.* Persons recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society may become members.

(b) *Fellows.* Members who show, by published work, special aptitude for historical investigation may become Fellows. Immediately following the adoption of this Constitution, the Executive Council shall elect five Fellows, and the body thus created may thereafter elect additional Fellows on the nomination of the Executive Council. The number of Fellows shall never exceed twenty-five.

(c) *Life Members.* In addition to life members of the Historical Society of New Mexico at the date of the adoption hereof, such other benefactors of the Society as shall pay into its treasury at one time the sum of fifty dollars, or shall present to the Society an equivalent in books, manuscripts, portraits, or other acceptable material of an historic nature, may upon recommendation by the Executive Council and election by the Society, be classed as Life Members.

(d) *Honorary Life Members.* Persons who have rendered eminent service to New Mexico and others who have, by published work, contributed to the historical literature of New Mexico or the Southwest, may become Honorary Life Members upon being recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society.

Article 4. *Officers.* The elective officers of the Society shall be a president, a vice-president, a corresponding secretary, a treasurer, and a recording secretary; and these five officers shall constitute the *Executive Council* with full administrative powers.

Officers shall qualify on January 1st following their election, and shall hold office for the term of two years and until their successors shall have been elected and qualified.

Article 5. *Elections.* At the October meeting of each odd-numbered year, a nominating committee shall be named by the president of the Society and such committee shall make its report to the Society at the November meeting. Nominations may be made from the floor and the Society shall, in open meeting, proceed to elect its officers by ballot, those nominees receiving a majority of the votes cast for the respective offices to be declared elected.

Article 6. *Dues.* Dues shall be \$3.00 for each calendar year, and shall entitle members to receive bulletins as published and also the *Historical Review*.

Article 7. *Publications.* All publications of the Society and the selection and editing of matter for publication shall be under the direction and control of the Executive Council.

Article 8. *Meetings.* Monthly meetings of the Society shall be held at the rooms of the Society on the third Tuesday of each month at eight P. M. The Executive Council shall meet at any time upon call of the President or of three of its members.

Article 9. *Quorums.* Seven members of the Society and three members of the Executive Council, shall constitute quorums.

Article 10. *Amendments.* Amendments to this constitution shall become operative after being recommended by the Executive Council and approved by two-thirds of the members present and voting at any regular monthly meeting; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given at a regular meeting of the Society, at least four weeks prior to the meeting when such proposed amendment is passed upon by the Society.

Students and friends of Southwestern History are cordially invited to become members. Applications should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Lansing B. Bloom, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

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VOL. XVIII

APRIL, 1943

No. 2



PALACE OF THE GOVERNORS

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NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Address business communications to Mr. P. A. F. Walter, State Museum, Santa Fe, N. M.; manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be addressed to Mr. Bloom at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.



OLD PAINTING: ST. JOSEPH AND THE CHRIST CHILD
(See page 191)

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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No. 2

NEW MEXICO AND THE SECTIONAL CONTROVERSY, 1846-1861¹

By LOOMIS MORTON GANAWAY

Until recent years, the study of New Mexico history has excited no general interest. Just as American social, economic, and political trends have been tardy in affecting New Mexico, so interest in historical research for that region has lagged. In other sections of the country, opportunities for important studies have presented themselves readily, but in an attempt to appraise a series of events in New Mexico history, difficulties are almost insuperable. The source materials are widely scattered, and in certain instances, the documents are practically inaccessible. Possibly for these reasons, the sectional controversy as it involved New Mexico has not heretofore provoked extensive research. This study is an attempt to interpret the sectional controversy in its relation to the nation and that region.

In approaching this problem, one must appreciate the culture of a people who had been essentially Spanish for over two hundred years.

When New Mexico was annexed to the United States, the most provocative of Anglo-American institutions was slavery. This system of labor was unfamiliar to the natives because of the absence of negroes in that region. In the period from 1848 until 1861, the conflicting efforts of pro-slavery and anti-slavery forces to control New Mexico represented one aspect of a struggle that culminated in the American Civil War.

1. The study here published, somewhat revised in form, was accepted at Vanderbilt University in 1941 in part fulfillment of requirements for the doctorate degree. It is based on independent research which the author pursued at the Huntington, Bancroft, and Congressional Libraries and the National Archives. At present Dr. Ganaway is serving with the A. A. F. T. C. at Kessler Field, Mississippi.

CHAPTER I

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS
OF NEW MEXICO IN 1846

THE first white man to reach the Pueblo Indian country in what today is known as New Mexico was a Franciscan father, Friar Marcos de Niza. Guided by a negro slave, he approached one of the towns of Zuñi in May of 1539. According to one tradition, the slave was captured by the Indians and was tossed from a high cliff to his death, after which the friar, who had not ventured to enter the town, hastily retraced his steps southward. The following year, Don Francisco Vásquez de Coronado led a large company into New Mexico to investigate the reported "Seven Cities of Cíbola." His expedition was regarded as a failure, but the information acquired by these conquistadors laid a basis for further exploration and, eventually, for permanent settlement of New Mexico by the Spanish and their descendants, the Mexicans.

For some years after the American occupation (1846), New Mexico included the present state of that name in addition to Arizona and southeastern Colorado, a total area of approximately 240,000 square miles. Until about 1850, many Americans living east of the Mississippi believed that, because New Mexico lay in the same latitude as southern states, it would be suitable for a similar type of agricultural economy. However, within a few years, travelers were enlightening readers, frequently in a manner that would not invite an extensive migratory movement. In one contemporary account, New Mexico was described as "a desert land . . . almost as unfitted for agricultural purposes as Arabia."¹ Another writer noted the "deserts, parched mountains, poisonous reptiles, and wild Indians."² Although the terri-

1. William W. H. Davis, *El Gringo; or New Mexico and her People* (New York, 1857), 231-232.

2. *Journal of William H. Richardson, a Private Soldier in the Campaign of New and Old Mexico . . .* (New York, 1848), unbound pamphlet, Huntington Library Collections.

tory possessed all of these, the writer failed to note the presence of a number of rivers that afforded a limited opportunity for agricultural pursuits by irrigation.

The Spaniards and their descendants, the Mexicans, discovered that their farming operations were restricted not only by a limited water supply but also by the nature of the soil, which in many localities contained a high percentage of mineral matter. They likewise observed that the altitude of that region, averaging several thousand feet above sea level, limited the extent and quality of their crops. For these reasons, they devoted their interest to the sheep and cattle industries that proved profitable on the high, level table lands.

Geographical phenomena were determining factors in the activities of the different racial groups in New Mexico and fundamental causes for the continuous state of warfare that characterized their relations until after the American Civil War. Two distinct civilizations had developed among the Indians long before the coming of the Spaniards. Along the river valleys dwelt the pueblo-type Indians, who lived as groups in large stone or adobe buildings similar to modern apartment houses. These communal houses gave to those Indians their general name of Pueblos. They were farmers skilled also in weaving, pottery, and basketry. They enjoyed a simple but effective system of government, in which each town was independent of all others.

Surrounding the Pueblos on all sides were more warlike, nomadic peoples: Navahos, Utahs, Comanches, and Apaches. Propinquity and cupidity had made robbers of these nomads, who on frequent occasions attacked and plundered the peaceful, agricultural Pueblos. The Spanish on their arrival not only added to the problem of economic survival, but also gave to it a political significance by seeking to establish Spanish sovereignty over all the Indians in New Mexico. The Pueblos were unable to resist, but the nomadic Indians eventually were sufficiently strong to assume the offensive and attack the Spaniards and Mexicans no less readily than

they did the Pueblos. Thus, for nearly two centuries before American occupation, a more or less continuous state of war prevailed in New Mexico.

At the time of its annexation to the United States, a small minority of Mexicans owned large tracts of land which their ancestors had received as grants from Spain. Here they lived in a feudal manner, enjoying a standard of living similar to that of wealthy landholders elsewhere. Occasionally they might travel to Santa Fé, the capital of New Mexico under Spanish and Mexican sovereignty.

To many Anglo-American visitors at Santa Fé in the 1850's, the first impression was that of a squalor which seemed evident in all directions. Most of the five or six thousand inhabitants lived in low, flat adobe houses along narrow, winding streets. Around the plaza were located the government buildings, where occasionally travelers saw Anglo-American traders, Mexicans, Pueblos, and perhaps when not at war, Navahos or Apaches. Concerning the Mexicans, an American visiting Santa Fé about 1850, wrote:

The race, as a whole, is and has been for centuries, at a standstill. The same agricultural implements that their remote ancestors used, they cling to tenaciously, resisting all innovations of improving machinery. . . . In short, a population almost, if not absolutely, impervious to progress either in business, science, education, or religion; their daily fare coarse and meager, their necessities few, their ambitions none. Far different is the case with the families of pure Castilian blood, who own most of the livestock found in the territory.³

The development of the Santa Fé trade between Missouri and New Mexico in the 1820's further complicated the meeting of the races. A few Anglo-Americans had ventured into New Mexico before that date, but they had come in no great numbers because of restrictions by Spanish authori-

3. Joseph G. McCoy, *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest*, Ralph P. Bieber, ed., *Southwest Historical Series*, VIII (Glendale, 1939), 396.

ties. If an account by John Rowzee Peyton be accepted, he was probably the first Anglo-American to visit New Mexico. According to his story, as edited by his grandson, Peyton was taken prisoner by a Spanish sea captain in the Gulf of Mexico and was brought to Santa Fé during the winter of 1773-1774. After being held captive for several months, he effected an escape and returned to his native home in Virginia with no high regard for Spanish hospitality.⁴

Among the first Anglo-Americans to give an authentic account of his visit to New Mexico was Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike. As a leader of a survey in the Louisiana Purchase, he was commissioned to explore the country drained by the Red and Arkansas rivers and to establish friendly relations with the nomadic tribes who inhabited that region.⁵ During the course of his exploration in the winter of 1806-1807, Pike crossed the Sangre de Cristo Mountains into the valley of the Rio Grande in Spanish territory. When arrested by Spanish officials for building a fort and raising the flag of the United States on territory under Spanish authority. Pike claimed an innocent error in calculating his position. Even so, he and his small party were escorted to Santa Fé. After a short stay there, he was taken to Chihuahua, where he was released by the Spanish authorities, and escorted back to the United States in July, 1807. Pike's account of his experiences and his observations in New Mexico aroused interest among the American people, who were unacquainted with that region. Among other things noted by Pike was the absence of negroes in New Mexico in contrast with the large number found in most Spanish colonies.⁶

4. John Lewis Peyton, *The Adventures of My Grandfather* (London, 1867), 63-64.

For further information on this Peyton "yarn," the reader is referred to the *New Mexico Historical Review*, IV, 239-272. After a little perousal he will probably decide that Grandfather Peyton never saw New Mexico, and that either he was a great liar or his grandson an unscrupulous romancer.—Editor.

5. Elliott Coues, ed., *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike* (3 vols., New York, 1895), II, 357-563; a brief account of the early Anglo-American explorers in New Mexico is that by Rupert Norval Richardson and Carl Coke Rister, *The Greater Southwest* (Glendale, 1934), 113-139.

6. Coues, ed., *The Expedition of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, II, 655-656.

During the decade following Pike's journey, infrequent efforts were made by Anglo-American traders to promote trade with New Mexico. Most of these expeditions were unsuccessful because of the inhospitable policy of the Spanish government towards the traders, or the menace of the hostile plains Indians.⁷ Not until Mexico finally gained independence from Spain in 1821 did the prospect of friendly trade relations between the northern provinces of that country and the United States become a reality.⁸

Among the first to take advantage of this favorable change in policy was Captian William Becknell of Howard County, Missouri.⁹ In command of a small party of traders, Captain Becknell led them to Santa Fé during the first year of Mexican independence, and made of the trip a profitable financial venture. In the following year, he returned to New Mexico, and other traders were quick to engage in similar activity. From that year, the trade flourished, despite recurring acts of hostility by plains Indians and natural and difficult barriers to be crossed between Missouri and Santa Fé. As the trade increased so rapidly in volume, it employed hundreds and thousands of men. Many Missourians and Kentuckians engaged in it, and some of them settled permanently in New Mexico.

Marriages with the New Mexicans were not infrequent, and other relationships gave to New Mexico a permanent Anglo-American colony of settlers. Charles Bent, a trader of distinguished New England ancestry, who became the first civil governor under the temporary government established by the military in 1846, married Maria Jaramillo, a member of a distinguished native family. Christopher ("Kit") Carson married her sister, Josefa. By such relationships, the Anglo-American settlers gained influence in the political and economic opportunities of the territory.

7. Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies, or the Journal of a Santa Fé Trader*, Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels*, XIX (Cleveland, 1905), 176-177.

8. Katharine Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West; how we won the land beyond the Mississippi* (2 vols., New York, 1912), II, 77.

9. *History of the Overland Trade*, bound collection of clippings from the *St. Louis Republican*, 1860, Huntington Library Collections.

As the Santa Fé trade increased in volume, a movement was initiated by traders in Missouri for the building by the federal government of a road to the border of New Mexico.¹⁰ Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri introduced a bill to this effect at the last session of the Eighteenth Congress.¹¹ Accompanying the bill was a report by Augustus Storrs, a trader, who suggested the importance of such a road if the United States wished to encourage friendly relations with Mexico. In speaking of the Mexicans, he said:

The profession of respect for our national character, and of attachment to our principles, are universal [by the Mexicans]; and their actions are a sufficient proof of sincerity. The door of hospitality is opened with a cheerful welcome, and every effort of friendship and kindness which might be expected from intimate acquaintance, is voluntarily proffered by a stranger. In all their principal towns, the arrival of Americans is a source of pleasure, and the evening is dedicated to dancing and festivity. . . . Their accommodations are generally indifferent, but they deserve much praise for their kindness, urbanity, and hospitality. Few nations practice these virtues to a greater degree.¹²

The Benton bill passed congress and was signed by President James Monroe as one of his last official acts as president.¹³ It authorized the expenditure of ten thousand dollars for marking a route to the New Mexico border and of an additional twenty thousand dollars to the plains Indians for a right of way through the country claimed by them. In the next few years, the federal government not only assisted the trade by marking such road, but on several occasions provided the traders with military escorts.¹⁴ In 1832, the United States and Mexico entered in a commercial

10. Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (2 vols., Cedar Rapids, 1912), II, 116-117.

11. *Register of Debates in Congress*, 18 Congress, 2 Session, Appendix I, p. 102.

12. Archer Butler Hulbert, ed., *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail* (Denver, 1933), *Overland to the Pacific*, Vol. II, pp. 85-86.

13. Act of March 3, 1825, *U. S. Statutes at Large*, IV, 100-101.

14. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 109.

treaty, by the terms of which trade barriers were lightened by the Mexican government.¹⁵

Anglo-American traders in their penetration of New Mexico soon advanced beyond the vicinity of Santa Fé. In a few years they were carrying on operations as far south as Sonora and Chihuahua. However, no great migration of settlers from the States followed the trail into New Mexico as they did to California and Oregon. It appeared clear to an American army officer on tour of duty in New Mexico during 1850 that the country would never invite a large immigration from the United States, for in such country of "rugged mountains and waste plains" it would not be possible to "support a population in numbers and wealth at all proportioned to its extent of territory."¹⁶ Further hindrances to any notable migration from the United States were, in his opinion, the hostility of the Indians and the low degree of culture among the Mexicans.

According to contemporary accounts, the presence of Anglo-Americans in New Mexico did not greatly elevate the standard of morals and general refinement. An English visitor in New Mexico in 1846 described the American soldiers at Santa Fé as "the dirtiest, rowdiest crew I have ever seen collected together."¹⁷

Another traveler regarded the northern departments of Mexico more favorably, although he did not visit so far north as Santa Fé. Waddy Thompson, the American minister to Mexico in 1844, who was more interested in the economic than the social aspects of Mexico, wrote that much of the country was a vast, undeveloped "El Dorado."¹⁸ The greatest wealth, he said, was probably in the northern departments or provinces, which were but loosely connected with the central government.¹⁹ He further observed that if

15. Hunter Miller, ed., *Treaties and other International Acts of the United States of America* (5 vols., Washington, 1931-1937), III, 599-640.

16. George A. McCall, *Letters from the Frontiers* (Philadelphia, 1868), 497.

17. George F. Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains* (London, 1847), 189.

18. Waddy Thompson, *Recollections of Mexico* (New York, 1846), 232-233.

19. *Ibid.*, 234.

Mexico were inhabited by "our race," the products of the mines alone would be worth five times their current value under Mexican operation.²⁰ Despite the potential wealth that awaited only economic exploitation, he expressed no agreement with those of his countrymen who were looking covetously to the further extension of territory. Although admitting that it was not often "with nations, at least, that such temptations are resisted," he urged the American people to "remember that wealth improperly acquired never ultimately benefitted any individual or a nation."²¹

Despite such admonitions, he provoked the interest of at least a part of the American public by allusion to cotton production in Mexico:

I have before remarked that enough cotton is not raised to supply the very limited demand of the Mexican manufacturers. The most of this is produced in the districts which lie upon the Pacific Ocean, but the climate of nearly all Mexico is suited to the growth of cotton. I can see no reason why it is not produced in much larger quantities, bearing, as it does, so enormous a price, except the characteristic indolence of the people. If the country was occupied by a population from this country equal to that of Mexico, the amount produced in the world would be doubled.²²

Thompson did not suggest the introduction of negro slavery as a proper solution to the labor problem, if the production of cotton were to be increased. Mexican laws affecting slavery met with no objection from the department of New Mexico, because they were not enforced.²³ Likewise, when another act was passed by the central government in 1837, abolishing slavery throughout Mexico and its provinces, but granting compensation to all slaveholders excepting the revolting Texans, no protest was heard from New Mexico. The New Mexicans, however, continued to maintain two forms of slavery that flourished in that region.

20. *Ibid.*, 204.

21. *Ibid.*, 204-205.

22. *Ibid.* 209.

23. Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West*, II, 373.

The enslavement of Indians had become general during the seventeenth century. According to one account, this practice seemed to "have rested on long custom, and not on law, except that no laws were invoked to prevent it."²⁴ The Indians were bought and sold much as were negroes on American slave markets. A healthy girl of eight would bring four hundred dollars. Estimates of the number of Indian slaves in New Mexico varied, but in a report of 1867, the number was believed to be between fifteen hundred and three thousand.²⁵

The other form of practical slavery was the system of peonage, that was widespread throughout New Mexico. To most Anglo-Americans, the similarity between this system of labor and American negro slavery was apparent immediately. Most observers, however, agreed that American negro slavery was more humane than the Mexican system. Lieutenant W. H. Emory, an army officer on duty during 1846 in New Mexico, in expressing his conviction that negro slavery would never be profitable in that region, said:

The profits of labor are too inadequate for the existence of negro slavery. Slavery, as practiced by the Mexicans, under the form of peonage, which enables their master to get the services of the adult while in the prime of life, without the obligations of rearing him in infancy, supporting him in old age, or maintaining his family affords no data for estimating the profits of slave labor, as it exists in the United States.²⁶

Under such circumstances, he added, it would be unprofitable for an American slaveholder to bring negroes to New Mexico among peons "nearly of their own color."

One of the most enlightening comparisons between the Mexican system of peonage and the American system of negro slavery was written by an American civil official in New Mexico for several years prior to the American Civil

24. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888* (San Francisco, 1889), 681.

25. *Ibid.*, 681, note.

26. *House Exec. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 41, pp. 98-99.

War. In his opinion, the wealthy inhabitants of New Mexico could gain nothing by encouraging the introduction of negro slavery in a region where the prevailing system possessed many of the benefits but none of the responsibilities of the American institution. After noting the universal recognition of that institution in Spanish-American colonies, he continued:

The only practical difference between it and negro slavery is, that the peons are not bought and sold in the markets as chattels; but in other respects I believe the difference is in favor of the negro. The average of intelligence among the peons is lower than that among the slaves of the Southern states; they are not so well cared for, nor do they enjoy so many of the blessings and comforts of domestic life. In truth, peonism is a more charming name for a species of slavery as abject and oppressive as any found on the American continent.²⁷

The Mexicans, he said, had dignified the institution by calling it a "contract between master and servant," but the contracts were "all on the side of the master." For his labor, the peon received an average wage of five dollars a month, out of which he was expected to support himself and his family. Should the peon become dissatisfied with his work, he was privileged to leave the service of his master, but only if he had paid the master in full for any debts or other obligations. In noting the restricting effects, he continued:

This the poor peon is unable to do, and the consequence is that he and his family remain in servitude all their lives. Among the proprietors in the country, the master generally keeps a store, where the servant is obliged to purchase every article he wants, and thus it is an easy matter to keep him always in debt. The master is required to furnish the peon with goods at the market value, and may advance him two-thirds the amount of his monthly wages. But these provisions, made for the benefit

27. Davis, *El Gringo*, 231.

of the peon, are in most instances disregarded, and he is obliged to pay an enormous price for everything he buys, and is allowed to run in debt beyond the amount of his wages, in order to prevent him leaving his master.²⁸

When parents were "driven into a state of slavery," as the statute stated, they had the right to bind their children to masters, thus marking them as slaves from childhood. Should a peon escape from his master, he could be arrested in any part of the territory and returned to his master with proper punishment, usually by the infliction of lashes. In concluding his observations, this writer said:

One of the most objectionable features in this system is, that the master is not obliged to maintain the peon in sickness or in old age. When he becomes too old to work any longer, like an old horse who is turned out to die, he can be cast adrift to provide for himself. These are the leading features of peonism, and in spite of the name it bears, the impartial reader will not be able to make anything out of it but slavery.²⁹

In the opinion of Major John Ayres, a federal army officer, who wrote retrospectively of his experiences in New Mexico,

the lower classes were all peons to the higher. There were probably not more than 500 or 700 rich Mexicans in the territory. . . . By their laws, in earlier days, their peons could be brought back if they ran away; it was worse than slavery, for slaves had a merchantile value, while if a peon died his place was at once filled with no loss but the small debt he was working out; slaves, too, were generally clothed by their masters, while these peons wore little or nothing; their masters cared for nothing but the work out of them.³⁰

28. *Ibid.*, 232.

29. *Idem.*

30. John Ayres, *A Soldier's Experience in New Mexico*, MS., Bancroft Library, Berkeley.

As late as 1867, Samuel Ellison, acting in the capacity of a federal investigator to charges that peonage was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, recorded that "peons are as much an article of trade as a horse or a sheep."³¹

From such men, who were not impelled by political considerations to defend or condemn the economic and social practices in New Mexico, the evidence seems reasonably certain that the controlling native families were not the "liberty loving freemen" that New England anti-slavery writers were wont to describe them.

As Major Ayres noted, between five hundred and seven hundred families represented the economic aristocracy of the territory. This group was of a total Mexican population, estimated from fifty thousand to seventy thousand in 1850.³² The nomadic Indians constituted the second largest group at the same date. One official estimated the number at 36,900 in 1846,³³ and an army officer made a slightly higher estimate four years later.³⁴ The Pueblos, decimated by both the nomadic Indians and the Mexicans, numbered between six and ten thousand.³⁵

As with other estimates, that for the Anglo-Americans about 1850 varied from a few hundred to several thousand, excluding the United States army.³⁶ Many of this group

31. Samuel Ellison, *History of New Mexico*, Ms., Bancroft Library, Berkeley.

This was edited by J. Manuel Espinosa in the *New Mexico Historical Review*, XIII, 1-13.—Editor.

32. Charles Florus Coan, *A History of New Mexico* (3 vols., Chicago, 1925), I, 325, gives an estimate of 99,204 people in New Mexico in 1844, counting Indians. In 1845, he cites a census, accounting for 67,736 pure white or mixed population. R. L. Duffus, *The Santa Fé Trail* (New York, 1930), states that the Mexican population in 1850 was 61,547.

33. Charles Bent to William Medill, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 10, 1846, in Annie H. Abel, ed., *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun While Indian Agent at Santa Fé, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New Mexico*, (Washington, 1915), 8.

34. McCall, *Letters from the Frontiers*, 522.

35. *Ibid.*, 498.

36. Calhoun to Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Santa Fé, February 16, 1851, in Abel, ed., *Calhoun's Correspondence*, 305, gives estimates; as does David Yancey Thomas, *A History of Military Occupation in Newly Acquired Territory of the United States* (New York, 1904), *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*, XX, no. 2, p. 114.

resided at Santa Fé or in the vicinity of the town. Smaller colonies, however, were located at Taos, Albuquerque, and Las Vegas. In addition to the large number of former Missourians who constituted this group, observers noted the rapidly increasing population of Jewish origin, principally from New York.

The sectional controversy in New Mexico after the occupation of that region in 1846, originated among the Anglo-Americans. They were the leaders who directed petitions that were sent to Congress, signed by natives. They provided congressmen with memorials that were heralded throughout the country as representing public opinion in that territory. For a short time, they succeeded in focusing national attention on New Mexico, among the native population of which, the problems of slavery extension, a Wilmot Proviso, territorial government or statehood provoked no profound interest.

CHAPTER II

NEW MEXICO IN NATIONAL POLITICS, 1846-1850

If in 1820, the majority of the American people believed that the Missouri Compromise settled the problem of slavery extension, they did not foresee the continuing westward movement. Within a few years, hundreds and thousands of immigrants pushed beyond the Mississippi into Texas under Mexican sovereignty. These pioneers took with them not only their scanty possessions, but the laws and customs of the sections from which they came. There, they came into conflict with the laws of Mexico. To protect themselves, they waged a successful revolution and sought admission into the federal union of the United States.

In 1845, when James K. Polk was inaugurated as president of the United States, Texas after nearly ten years as an independent republic, was ready to be admitted into the Union, bringing with it slavery, a probable war with Mexico, and the fulfillment of Polk's campaign pledge of territorial expansion.¹

The anticipated war with Mexico began in April of the following year, but scarcely had it begun before the question of slavery extension was raised by men who could foresee the acquisition of a great western domain for the United States. One of the most voluble of these men was David Wilmot, a representative in congress from Pennsylvania. Shortly after the outbreak of hostilities, he introduced a resolution into the house, which if adopted by congress would arrest the extension of slavery into any territory that might be acquired from Mexico. In a conversation with Wilmot, the president reported himself as having said:

I told him [Wilmot] I did not desire to extend slavery, that I would be satisfied to acquire by treaty from Mexico the Provinces of New Mexico & Californias, and that in these Provinces slavery

1. Milo Milton Quaife, ed., *The Diary of James K. Polk* (4 vols., Chicago, 1910), I, 496-497.

could probably never exist, and the great probability was that the question would never arise in the future organization of territorial or State Governments in these territories.²

If President Polk succeeded in allaying his fears, Wilmot felt further cause for alarm when he read a code of laws for New Mexico as decreed by General Stephen Watts Kearny, after the occupation of that region by American military force. In an address before the house of representatives, Wilmot said:

The fundamental law which General Kearny laid down for the government of the country bears the impress and proves the existence of slavery. Yes, sir, slavery is there. . . . The Constitution or fundamental law which General Kearny lays down for the government of that country, in prescribing the qualifications of electors, says: "every free male" shall be entitled to the right of suffrage, etc. Does not this imply there are males there *not free*? Already, sir, on the route of travel between Missouri and New Mexico slaves are found, who are being removed thither. Slavery is there, sir—there, in defiance of law. Slavery does not wait for all the forms of annexation to be consummated. It is on the move, sir. It is in New Mexico.³

Not many slaves were on the move, for according to the census of 1850, New Mexico had a total negro population of twenty-two, not one of whom was listed as a slave.⁴ Had Wilmot gone further and pictured a great slave empire already in progress of development in that region, with cotton fields flourishing and a southern culture firmly established, his statements probably would have passed unquestioned by most people of both the older sections of the country in 1846. Even though commercial relations between the United States and the northern provinces of Mexico had been in progress for nearly three decades prior to the war,

2. *Ibid.*, II, 289.

3. *Congressional Globe*, 29 Cong., 2 Sess., 817.

4. *Seventh Census of the United States*, 1850, 998.

the average American who was unfamiliar with frontier conditions assumed that because New Mexico lay in the same latitude with southern states, slavery would be profitable there.⁵ In the defeat of Mexico and the acquisition of her northern departments, there were doubtless many southerners who in 1846 were visualizing a prosperous field for economic penetration.

Consequently, in the first year of the war, southerners generally supported President Polk's war policy, while the people of New England were indifferent or openly hostile.⁶ So strong in fact was the support given to the Wilmot Proviso by New England and the Middle Atlantic states that the possibility of annexing any portion of Mexico seemed remote during the initial period of the war; southerners were believed, of course, to be unwilling to approve any annexation in which slavery would be barred by federal law.⁷

What followed was a campaign of enlightenment by expansionists, to whom sectional interests were secondary in importance. Much of this campaign was directed to northern politicians and to the public through newspapers.⁸ They were told that slavery was prohibited by natural conditions from ever being a profitable enterprise, but should slaves be imported into New Mexico, they would find an easy escape into Mexico.⁹ Expansionists warned the North that by supporting the Wilmot Proviso the opportunity for acquiring potential free states would be forfeited, for it was agreed that the South would oppose any annexation to which the Wilmot Proviso was attached. Following closely upon this warning was the proposal of Lewis Cass, a senator from Michigan, who suggested a doctrine of "popular sovereignty" for any territory that might be acquired from Mexico. To some northern politicians, Cass's proposal seemed reason-

5. John D. P. Fuller, "The Slavery Question and the Movement to Acquire Mexico, 1846-1848," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXI (1934), 31.

6. *Ibid.*, 32.

7. Justin H. Smith, *War with Mexico* (2 vols., New York, 1919), II, 272-274; Fuller, "The Slavery Question and the Movement to Acquire Mexico, 1846-1848," 33-34.

8. *Ibid.*, 34-35.

9. *Idem.*

able, especially because slavery could scarcely expect to find support in a region where it would be unprofitable.

Meanwhile, in the southern states, the popular approval for the president's war policy gave place to a wavering interest in the conflict. The campaign of enlightenment had infiltrated beyond its mark. Only the expansionists along the southwestern frontier, like those of the northwest, continued to give President Polk active support. John C. Calhoun, who as secretary of state in the Tyler cabinet, had been unsuccessful in getting senate approval to a Texas treaty of annexation, now declared that he had never supported the war.¹⁰ This reversal in policy may have resulted from correspondence with Waddy Thompson. This former minister to Mexico believed that the acquisition of any Mexican territory would mean the addition of free soil territory just as much as would any domain that the United States might acquire from Canada.¹¹

Other southerners spoke their opposition to further acquisition of territory, fearing the slavery question would put to a too great test the strength of the federal union.¹² John A. Campbell of Alabama wrote Calhoun of the political disaster that would surely befall the South by the annexation of any part of Mexico:

The territory is wholly unfit for a negro population. The republic of Mexico contains a smaller number of blacks than any of the older colonies of Spain and tho' this is not conclusive yet it is a persuasive argument that negro labor was not found profitable.¹³

In the senate debate that followed President Polk's recommendation to congress for the annexation of New

10. *Congressional Globe*, 29 Cong., 2 Sess., 500ff.

11. Waddy Thompson to John C. Calhoun, December 18, 1847, in J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Correspondence of John C. Calhoun*, in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1899, Vol. II, p. 1152.

12. Eugene Irving McCormac, *James K. Polk, A Political Biography* (Berkeley, 1922), 623.

13. John A. Campbell to Calhoun, November 20, 1847, in Jameson, ed., *Correspondence of John C. Calhoun*, II, p. 1140.

Mexico and California, senators from the southeastern states supported by the Whig slave holders expressed fear that any annexation would mean the weakening of the national structure by the incorporation of so large a group of ignorant Mexicans.¹⁴ They also raised the question of the probable effect that such a program of expansion would have upon the foreign relations of the United States with France and England.

Opposition, however, was not limited to the South. Daniel Webster added his voice to the opponents of annexation by warning the senate that the acquisition of New Mexico and California together with the recently added state of Texas would give to those three regions, if admitted as states into the Union, equal representation in the senate with New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio. The total population of California, New Mexico and Texas was scarcely three hundred thousand; yet six new senators would exert the same influence as those from states of much greater population.¹⁵ Webster expressed doubt that Texas could ever be a country of a dense population, and as for New Mexico, he said:

It is a settled country; the people living along the bottom of the valley [Rio Grande] on the sides of a little stream, a garter of land only on one side and the other, filled by coarse landholders and miserable *peons*. It can sustain not only under this cultivation, but under any cultivation that our American race would ever submit to, no more than are there now. There will, then, be two Senators for sixty thousand inhabitants in New Mexico to the end of our lives and to the end of the lives of our children.¹⁶

At another point during the same address, Webster referred to New Mexico as a "secluded, isolated place by itself, in the midst of vast mountains," shut off from civili-

14. Fuller, "The Slavery Question and the Movement to Acquire Mexico, 1846-1848," 40.

15. Fletcher Webster, ed., *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster* (18 vols., Boston, 1903), X, 23.

16. *Idem*.

zation more than were Hawaii or any of the islands of the Pacific.¹⁷ As for the inhabitants of that "secluded, isolated place," he said they were "infinitely less elevated, in morals and condition, than the people of the Sandwich Islands. . . . Have they [New Mexicans] any notion of popular government? Not the slightest."¹⁸

The arguments of Webster did not influence the group expansionists who favored the annexation not only of New Mexico and California, but of all Mexico. Among these in the Senate were Sam Houston and Thomas J. Rusk of Texas, Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi.¹⁹ To the president, the interjection of the slavery issue into the expansion program was "not only mischievous but wicked," because, he added, "slavery has no possible connection with the Mexican War and with making peace with that country."²⁰ He recognized that "differences of opinion upon minor questions of public policy" might endanger the Union.²¹

Although a long fight over a treaty of peace with Mexico might have been anticipated, the policy of expansion that had appealed to the president found ready approval with a majority of the senate. In less than three weeks after the treaty was submitted to that body, it was ratified.

After the occupation of New Mexico by American forces in August, 1846, the military had directed civil affairs in that region. With the establishment of peace, the president would have preferred an immediate erection of a civil authority. However, before a permanent civil government, either territorial or state, could be instituted, a number of disturbing issues presented themselves. Not the least perplexing of these was the claim of Texas to all that part of New Mexico lying east of the Rio Grande.²²

17. *Ibid.*, 29.

18. *Idem.*

19. Fuller, "The Slavery Question and the Movement to Acquire Mexico, 1846-1848," 46; also see *Sen. Exec. Docs.*, 30 Cong., I Sess., no. 50, pp. 1-37.

20. Polk, *Diary*, II, 308.

21. James D. Richardson, *Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897* (10 vols., Washington, 1896-99), IV, 564.

22. W. J. Spillman, "Adjustment of the Texas Boundary in 1850," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, VII (1904), 177-195.

The Texas state authorities had not awaited a treaty of peace with Mexico before reminding the federal government of her claims in that direction. As early as February, 1847, Secretary of State James Buchanan had written Texan authorities assuring them that Texan claims had not been injured by General Kearny's occupation of New Mexico or the establishment of a temporary form of territorial government under military direction.²³ Secretary Buchanan stated that although Polk recognized the justice of the Texan claim, he believed an adjustment of the problem belonged within the sphere of legislative rather than executive control.

During the time that congress was debating the question of Texan claims and the issue of slavery extension, the people of New Mexico were likewise becoming active. Although President Polk had advised them to remain quiet until congress had provided a civil government for them, Senator Thomas Benton of Missouri assumed a more aggressive position. In a public letter to the people of New Mexico and California, he recommended that they provide themselves with a simple form of government until congress should act.²⁴ In New Mexico, W. Z. Angney, a friend of the Missouri senator, was mainly responsible for the hurried meeting that adopted a memorial to congress, which requested territorial form of government, protection from the unwarranted claims of Texas, and most significantly, protection from the introduction of slavery.²⁵

To prepare the memorial for presentation, the petitioners appointed Joab Houghton, a resident of Santa Fé, who had a limited knowledge of law. In a letter to Senator John M. Clayton, who with Benton was asked to present the petition to the senate, Houghton stated that because of his long residence in New Mexico, he felt himself well qualified to judge the attitude of the inhabitants on national issues. As to the Texan claims to all territory lying east of the Rio

23. William C. Binkley, "The Question of Texan Jurisdiction in New Mexico under the United States, 1848-1850," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXIV (1920), 1-38.

24. Thomas Hart Benton, *Address to the People of California and New Mexico* (n. p., 1850).

25. Bancroft, *A History of Arizona and New Mexico*, 443-444.

Grande, he stated that the people of the territory awaited with the keenest interest the action of congress. Texas, he said, had never been able to establish her claim to any part of New Mexico. He recalled, also, General Kearny's assurance of "the *full* benefits of the Constitution and a liberal government" which would be denied them by the dismemberment of their territory.²⁶

On the subject of slavery, Houghton said:

It is not necessary to discuss the question of slavery. Any owner of slaves who should bring slaves to New Mexico would be ruined; there exist no means of making them earn their subsistence in competition with the cheap native labor. And their introduction would besides produce the most deleterious effects upon the morals and the industrial interest of the country.²⁷

Scarcely had the memorial been presented to the senate by Benton and Clayton on December 13, 1848, before southern members had raised their voices in protest. Calhoun, always ready to defend the interest of his section said:

the people of this territory [New Mexico], under all the circumstances of the case, have not made a respectful petition to this Senate, on the contrary, they have made a most insolent one. I am not surprised, however, at the language of the petition. That people were conquered by the very men they wish to exclude from the Territory, and they know that. . . . I look upon the rights of the southern states, proposed to be excluded from this Territory, as a high constitutional principle. Our right to go there is unquestionable, and guaranteed and supported by the Constitution.²⁸

Calhoun was followed in debate by Senator James C. Westcott of Florida, who attacked the petition for its ambiguity. He asked whether the fourteen names attached

26. Joab Houghton to John M. Clayton, Santa Fé, October 16, 1848, National Archives (hereinafter cited N. A.), State Department Records, Miscellaneous Letters.

27. *Idem*.

28. *Congressional Globe*, 30 Cong., 2 Sess., 33.

to the petition represented the opinions of "three Yankees . . . and eleven Mexicans" or actually did express the sentiment of the "ten, or fifteen, or twenty thousand citizens who have gone to New Mexico from the United States . . .?"²⁹ Senator Henry S. Foote of Mississippi expressed his belief that Clayton and Benton had unwittingly become the victims of collusion by a faction or "scheming individual" who had taken advantage of the senators' generous impulses.³⁰

After a few other remarks of similar temper by southern senators, the New Mexico petition was not again brought to the attention of the senate for several weeks. Then, however, when the New Mexico petition was incidentally mentioned in debate, Senator Rusk of Texas announced that since the presentation of the memorial by Clayton and Benton, he had received definite information concerning the New Mexico convention that had written the October memorial. He said that in no way did the memorial represent the sentiment of the people of New Mexico but that it had been formulated by "followers and hangers-on of the army, who got it up, with the restriction in relation to slavery, for political and selfish purposes."³¹ He said, further, that his information which was undoubtedly reliable, had revealed the activity of a few scheming local politicians. They had employed the slavery question to strengthen their own positions with anti-slavery forces, even to the extent of establishing "a newspaper, in which they ridicule and deride the institution of slavery . . . as the evil of the age."³²

Although he failed to disclose the source of his information, it seems highly probable that Spruce M. Baird, a special agent sent by the Texas state government to Santa Fé, was his informant. Baird arrived in Santa Fé on November 10, 1848, remaining there until late in the summer of the following year.³³

29. *Ibid.*, 34.

30. *Ibid.*, 35.

31. *Ibid.*, 312.

32. *Idem.*

33. William C. Binkley, ed., "Reports of a Texan Agent in New Mexico, 1849," in *New Spain and the Anglo-American West* (2 vols., Lancaster, 1932), II, 157-188.

The anti-slavery societies throughout the free states were not slow in calling the attention of the people in the North to the New Mexico memorial. In the succeeding months after its introduction in December 1848, state legislatures, anti-slavery societies, and groups of private citizens filed petitions with the senate, supporting the New Mexico memorialists.³⁴

Typical of these was that of the citizens of Medina, Ohio, who addressed both houses of congress, although this petition was presented only to the senate:

To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

The subscribers inhabitants of the county of Medina and the state of Ohio respectfully pray your honorable bodies to incorporate the Jefferson Proviso, otherwise called the "Wilmot Proviso," or anti-slavery clause of the ordinance of 1787, into the laws for the government of the territories of New Mexico and California,—and also to repeal the statute law of 1793 for the recapture of fugitive slaves, to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia, and to prohibit the coast-wise slave trade.³⁵

From the New York state legislature came a petition to congress, which was presented in the senate by Senator John A. Dix of that state. In this petition the senators were instructed and the representatives were requested to

use their best efforts to produce the enactment of laws for the establishment of governments for the territory acquired by the late treaty of peace with Mexico, and that, by such laws, involuntary servitude, except for crime, be excluded from such territory; . . . [to] protect it from the claims of Texas, and prohibit the extension over it of the laws of Texas, or the institution therein of domestic slavery; . . .³⁶

34. N. A., Senate Files; petitions, memorials, etc., directed to the House may be located in the House of Representatives Files, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

35. N. A., Senate Files, 31 A—H 17.

36. *Senate Journal*, 30 Cong., 2 Sess., 140.

In contrast with the active campaign among anti-slavery societies and other organizations that were opposed to the extension of slavery, the absence of any such widespread activity by southerners to protect their interests is immediately noted. A few petitions, such as that of the North Carolina state legislature,³⁷ were presented to congress. If, however, interest in the extension or prohibition of slavery into New Mexico may be in any measure gauged by petitions to the national legislature, the North and not the South was awakened.

During the time that petitions had been pouring into congress from all sections of the North asking for the protection of the inhabitants of New Mexico from slavery, the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was busily engaged in the preparation of an abolition tract. Although it purportedly was addressed to the people of New Mexico and California, it found general circulation among the members of congress, anti-slavery groups, and northern newspapers.³⁸ The tract, prepared under the direction of William Jay, Arthur Tappan, and other anti-slavery leaders, was a general attack upon the federal government for its failure to comply with its promise to provide a "free government" for New Mexico and California. Such government, they said, had been promised by General Kearny, but, instead, President Polk and other exponents of slavery were determined to prevent any form of government until slavery was insured in that region.

After condemning slaveholders for taking their slave property into New Mexico,³⁹ in violation of treaty guarantees, the authors of the tract outlined a course of conduct for the inhabitants.

37. *Ibid.*, 278.

38. This tract which was translated into Spanish was brought to New Mexico by William Kephart in 1849. Kephart came to New Mexico as a missionary of the Presbyterian Missionary Society, but soon exposed himself as a "Disciple of abolitionism."

39. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo guaranteed respect for Mexican law, when not incompatible with that of the United States. Mexico prohibited slavery and it was argued that slavery was therefore prohibited in New Mexico unless specifically recognized by act of congress.

Such [slavery] . . . is the detestable institution which a few haughty and selfish men are endeavoring to force upon you in order to augment their own political power, and to open new markets for their human cattle; and such are the calamities which their success will entail upon you and your posterity for ages to come. Every dictate of patriotism and Christian benevolence impels us to resist to the uttermost the extension of this abomination of desolation over the new, fair and vast addition recently made to our Federal Union. Much as we prize this splendid acquisition, may it be forever lost to us rather than it should be converted by the American people into a region of ignorance, vice, misery, and degradation by the establishment of human bondage. . . . You have all the elements essential to the creation of a great, prosperous and independent empire. If you cannot be free, happy and virtuous in union with us, be free, happy and virtuous under a government of your own. But you are not reduced to such an alternative. The slaveholders have refused you a territorial government—form one for yourselves, and declare that no slave shall taint the air you breathe. Let no feudal lord with his host of serfs come among you to rob you of your equal share of the rich deposits of your soil—tolerate no servile caste kept in ignorance and degradation, to minister to the power and wealth of an oppressive aristocracy.⁴⁰

This invitation to open rebellion caused the military authorities in New Mexico to suppress the tract.

The seriousness of the situation and the necessity for the establishment of civil government was further called to the attention of the American public by the open hostility between the military authorities and the inhabitants. Operating in the territory were some men whose activities resemble the carpetbaggers of the reconstruction period. They arrived with General Kearny or shortly thereafter.

40. *Address to the Inhabitants of New Mexico and California on the Omission by Congress to Provide them with Territorial Governments, and on the Social and Political Evils of Slavery*, issued by the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, New York, 1849.

These men rather than the natives were protesting against the military, because its presence prevented the surrender of the government to them, and so long as it remained, they were thwarted. What was not clear to the administration in Washington and to the American public in general was the fact that a few Anglo-American leaders were responsible for much of the agitation that was arousing the native population against the recognized authority.

With the inauguration of President Zachary Taylor, the administration expressed its opposition to the maintenance of the military in a territory during a period of peace. In a message to congress, he expressed confidence that, "at no very distant future," New Mexico would present itself for admission to the Union.⁴¹

President Taylor believed statehood to be the proper solution to New Mexico's political problem. To foster this design, he sent agents into New Mexico, but not soon enough to thwart a second move by the territorial party, which during the previous year had sent the October memorial to congress. Again, as on the previous occasion, Judge Houghton guided the procedure of the convention that met at Santa Fé on September 24 for a two day session. This convention adopted a territorial plan of government and elected Hugh N. Smith delegate to congress.⁴²

Smith hastened to Washington, arriving there in time to present his petition to the house on January 3, 1850. If he anticipated immediate action, he suffered disappointment. His sponsor, Representative Edward Baker of Illinois repeatedly attempted to bring the petition before the house, but on April 3, the committee on elections reported that it recommended unfavorable action on the Smith petition.⁴³ Not until the middle of July, however, did the house officially refuse to seat Smith.

While Smith was awaiting action on his petition, he

41. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V, 18-19.

42. *Journal of New Mexico Convention of Delegates to Recommend a Plan of Civil Government, September, 1849* (Santa Fé, 1907), 7.

43. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., I Sess., 94, 633, 1399, 1411.

continued his residence in Washington and made the acquaintance of Daniel Webster, who learned of his long residence in a slave state (Kentucky). Because of this fact, Webster reasoned that he was familiar with slave labor and with the natural conditions under which such labor would be profitable. With this background, and a knowledge of New Mexico "from end to end," Webster asked him if he would express his opinions in writing on the practicability of slavery in New Mexico, the extent of the institution already in that region, and what laws, if any, were already in force in the territory affecting slavery.⁴⁴

In reply to Webster's request, Smith wrote on April 9, 1850:

New Mexico is an exceedingly mountainous country, Santa Fé itself being twice as high as the highest point of the Alleghanies, and nearly all the land capable of cultivation is of equal height, though some of the valleys have less altitude above the sea. The country is cold. Its general agricultural products are wheat and corn, and such vegetables as grow in the Northern States of the Union. It is entirely unsuited for slave labor. Labor is exceedingly abundant and cheap. It may be hired for three or four dollars a month, in quantity quite sufficient for carrying on all the agriculture of the territory. There is no cultivation except by irrigation, and there is not a sufficiency of water to irrigate the land. As to the existence at present of slavery in New Mexico, it is the general understanding that it has been altogether abolished by the laws of Mexico; but we have no established tribunals which have pronounced as yet what the law of the land in this respect is. It is universally considered, however, that the territory is altogether a free territory. I know of no persons in the country who are treated as slaves, except such as may be servants to gentlemen visiting or passing through the country. I may add, that the strongest feeling against slavery uni-

44. Webster to Smith, Washington, April 8, 1850, in Webster, *Writings*, XII, 222-223.

versally prevails throughout the whole territory, and I suppose it quite impossible to convey it there, and maintain it by any means whatever.⁴⁵

When the house finally declared its refusal to seat Smith, he issued a public letter to the people of New Mexico.⁴⁶ He assigned his defeat to the antagonism of southerners, who had not forgotten the memorial of 1848, in which the people of the territory had protested against the introduction of slavery.

With the issues that were facing congress, Smith's efforts to be seated were but a momentary distraction from the debates on slavery in the Mexican cession, slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, a fugitive slave law, and the Texas-New Mexico boundary dispute. None was more bitterly debated in congress than the Texas boundary, and for that reason it is an interesting commentary that many writers of American history have treated it as of minor importance. Much that was said by leaders of both sections with respect to the Texas boundary in 1850 was repeated ten years later when the Union was about to disintegrate.

Among the first measures introduced in the senate as a solution to the Texas-New Mexico boundary was that by Senator Benton of Missouri, who opposed any Texan claim. He sponsored a bill that not only would have denied any Texan claim to New Mexico but would have greatly reduced the size of Texas. In return for this sacrifice of territory, Benton proposed giving Texas \$15,000,000.⁴⁷

Another proposal was that of Senator Foote of Mississippi, who introduced a bill which among other features provided for the creation of the state of Jacinto out of Texan territory east of the Brazos River. In return for this, the western limits of Texas would extend to the Rio Grande. This bill was satisfactory neither to the Texans nor to those

45. Smith to Webster, Washington, April 9, 1850, *Ibid.*, 223.

46. *Address of Hugh N. Smith of New Mexico to the People of that Territory* (Washington, 1850), Huntington Library Collections.

47. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., 165.

who opposed the creation of another state that would by its location favor slavery.⁴⁸

Henry Clay was yet another who offered a solution to the boundary dispute. He proposed fixing the western boundary of Texas along the Rio Grande as far as El Paso or its vicinity and then eastward to an extent that would have deprived Texas of any of the disputed country north of El Paso. In the course of his remarks when introducing this measure, Clay said that in his opinion "Texas has not a good title to any portion of what is called New Mexico."⁴⁹ In answer to Clay's offer, Senator Rusk stated briefly that he would not consider the sacrifice of half of Texas as a peace offering to that portion of the Union which was bent upon the destruction of constitutional rights of the South.⁵⁰

In July, 1850, President Taylor died, but the debate was stopped only momentarily. Daniel Webster became secretary of state for the new president, Millard Fillmore, and almost immediately was faced with a new angle in the boundary question. This referred to what the authorities in Texas regarded as interference by Colonel John Munroe, military governor of New Mexico, in Texan state affairs.⁵¹ The governor of Texas, P. H. Bell, had early in the spring of 1850 sent Robert Neighbors to Santa Fé to perfect a county organization for that part of Texas.⁵² According to Governor Bell, the military in New Mexico had prevented by their hostile action the projection of the commission. In a letter to President Taylor, the governor asked by what authority Munroe could encourage a state government for New Mexico on territory within the boundaries of Texas. He also asked the president if Munroe had the support of the administration in such action.

48. *Ibid.*, 166; see William C. Binkley, *The Expansionist Movement in Texas 1836-1850* (Berkeley, 1925), *University of California Publications in History*, XIII, 195-218.

49. *Ibid.*, 245.

50. *Ibid.*, 247.

51. Governor P. H. Bell to President Zachary Taylor, Austin, June 14, 1850, N. A., State Department Records, Miscellaneous Letters.

52. John Munroe to Major General R. Jones, Adjutant General, Santa Fé, March 15, 1850, N. A., War Department Records, A. G. O. Files.

President Fillmore assigned his secretary of state the task of replying to Governor Bell's letter of June 14, which had been addressed to President Taylor.⁵³ Webster neither admitted nor denied Texan claims to New Mexico, and stated that he did not regard the settlement of the boundary dispute within the province of the executive department. It was likewise true, he added, that the settlement of the dispute would not be made between the inhabitants of Texas and New Mexico but between Texas and the federal government. In his concluding paragraph, Webster said:

It [the boundary question] is a delicate crisis in our public affairs, not free certainly from possible dangers, but, let us confidently trust, that justice, moderation and patriotism, and the love of the Union, may inspire such counsels, both in the government of the United States and that of Texas, as shall carry the country through these dangers, and bring it safely out of them all, and with renewed assurances of the continuance of mutual respect and harmony in the great family of states.⁵⁴

On the day following Secretary Webster's letter to Governor Bell, President Fillmore sent a special message to congress, in which he openly supported the New Mexico claim. After calling the attention of congress to the special session of the Texas legislature that had been called to determine officially the sentiment of the people, President Fillmore stated that should Texas feel the necessity of sending troops into the disputed area, he would be compelled to meet force with force.⁵⁵ On the same day, Winfield Scott, acting secretary of war, ordered 750 additional troops to New Mexico, ostensibly to protect the population from the recurring Indian attacks, but in all probability as a warning to Texas.⁵⁶

53. Millard Fillmore to Daniel Webster, Washington, July 25, 1850, N. A., State Department Records, Miscellaneous Letters.

54. Daniel Webster to P. H. Bell, Washington, August 5, 1850, N. A. State Department Records, Domestic Letters; also joint letter of Senators Houston and Rusk to Webster, Washington, August 1, 1850, Miscellaneous Letters.

55. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V, 67-73.

56. Winfield Scott to John Munroe, Washington, August 5, 1850, in Abel, ed., *Calhoun's Correspondence*, 164-165.

For a time it appeared that the boundary dispute would defeat the entire compromise. For this reason, the senate adopted a proposal made by Senator James A. Pearce that the Texas boundary dispute be eliminated from the compromise measures.⁵⁷ This, of course, was a most unsatisfactory outcome, because the question of establishing a civil government for New Mexico under such circumstances was left unanswered.

Although Senator Pearce had proposed the measure that had eliminated the boundary dispute from the compromise discussion, two weeks after this vote was taken, he again introduced a bill for the settlement of the boundary question. Both houses adopted this plan without much further discussion. According to this bill, which was approved by the senate on August 9, 1850, and by the house on September 6, the northern and western limits of Texas were established as they are today. In compensation for the relinquishment of her claim, Texas received \$10,000,000.⁵⁸ In November, the Texas legislature accepted the proposal and thus brought to an end a controversy which was perhaps the most difficult to adjust of the compromise measures of 1850.

In the compromise debates that had continued from December, 1849, until the following September, more consideration was given to the Texas boundary dispute than to the problem of civil government for New Mexico. The expediency, if not the legality, of organizing a permanent civil government in a region without fixed boundaries was questioned by some members of congress. Certainly statehood could not be granted under such circumstances, and even a territorial government would present serious obstacles. However, New Mexico's political status was recurrently a subject of debate. In attempting to settle this problem, congress was faced not only with a boundary dispute but with the slavery issue for New Mexico. Could any

57. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 1479.

58. Act of September 9, 1850, *U. S. Statutes at Large*, IX, 446-447.

compromise be reached if the North insisted upon the principle of the Wilmot Proviso for this region?

Daniel Webster, who had regarded unhappily the Polk program of territorial expansion, believed that no compromise could be reached if the no-slavery doctrine were adopted by congress. The South would never consent to it, he knew, but at the same time, he expressed his opinion that slavery was actually no issue because "by a law even superior to that which admits and sanctions it in Texas . . . the law of nature," slavery could never be profitable in New Mexico.⁵⁹ Not all members of congress were in full agreement with Webster. Horace Mann, a member of the house, issued a public letter in which he expressed the view that although New Mexico might not be suitable for the application of slavery in agricultural pursuits, slaves could be used in mining, as they had been employed in the past by the Spaniards. Mann maintained that gold was now being mined within twenty-five miles of Santa Fé and that production could be greatly increased. Furthermore, he said that reports from responsible travelers affirmed that New Mexico could conceivably support a population of seven million. Under such conditions Mann believed that thousands of negroes would be useful as household servants and field workers. New Mexico, he continued, might become a most advantageous place for the breeding of negroes, with the prospect of excellent markets in Texas and Louisiana.⁶⁰

Henry Clay, like Daniel Webster, counselled for compromise, and favored territorial status without reference to slavery. This he recommended in a series of resolutions introduced on January 29, 1850.⁶¹ A few days later, in an address before the senate, he said that the people of the North already had in New Mexico what was worth a thousand Wilmot provisos, for they had nature itself on their side. It was, however, he said, necessary to institute

59. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., 480.

60. *Horace Mann's Letters on the Extension of Slavery into California and New Mexico and on the Duty of Congress to Provide the Trial by Jury for Alleged Fugitives*, pamphlet (Washington, 1850).

61. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., 244-246.

a territorial government for New Mexico, because the people there were operating under a system that they had described as "temporary, doubtful, uncertain, and inefficient in character and operation."⁶² Although he did not so express himself during this speech, Clay did not favor the administration policy of statehood for New Mexico, and on a later date, characterized the proposal as "ridiculous" and "farcical."

The arguments of Webster and Clay appealed to the practical judgment of the members of both houses. When on August 15, 1850, the vote was finally taken in the senate on the territorial bill for New Mexico, it passed by a vote of 27 to 10.⁶³ On September 6, when this was attached to the Texas boundary bill, it passed the house by a vote of 108 to 97.

A few days after the passage of this measure, Richard H. Weightman arrived in Washington, bringing with him a constitution for the proposed State of New Mexico. Weightman was a senator-elect from that "state." Taylor's agents, particularly Colonel George McCall, had succeeded in bringing this program into effect, and although any idea of statehood vanished in congress with the death of President Taylor, the constitution had been adopted and elections held before the announcement of his death reached New Mexico.

After its establishment as a territorial government, little interest from a national viewpoint was taken in New Mexico until shortly before the Civil War. Occasionally, during the decade after 1850, minor political differences within the territory were brought to the attention of congress, but they never provoked lengthy discussion or became major issues for debate.

As far as public interest east of the Mississippi was concerned, New Mexico was forgotten. No gold strikes brought hurrying immigrants in that direction; no rich valleys presented opportunities for home seekers; only a semi-arid country, inhabited mostly by hostile Indians and

62. *Ibid.*, 293; Appendix, 119-120.

63. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., 1589.

illiterate Mexicans was the picture visualized by those millions of Americans who had not ventured westward.

Although this was the sentiment of most Americans, the inhabitants of New Mexico, particularly those of Anglo-American origin, were unwilling to be forgotten so readily. In their efforts to establish civil government, they engaged in factional quarrels. Fundamentally, these evolved from attempts to introduce into the territory conflicting conceptions of social and economic practices, alien to the native inhabitants.

(to be continued)

NEW MEXICO'S FIGHT FOR STATEHOOD 1895-1912

By MARION DARGAN

VII: THE PART PLAYED BY THE PRESS OF THE SOUTHWEST

WE HAVE already seen that New Mexico was kept out of the union for years largely because the majority of the American people were convinced that it was an uninhabitable desert and that the people were unfit for self-government. These misconceptions were held tenaciously by the people of the East, and gave way slowly only after a long campaign of advertising. The Bureau of Immigration had been created by the territorial legislature in 1880, and charged with the task of disseminating "accurate information" regarding the resources of New Mexico and the advantages it offered to immigrants. In spite of small appropriations, much had been done under the capable leadership of Max Frost, the masterful editor of the *New Mexican*. Literature regarding the territory had been widely distributed, and the agricultural and mineral products of the territory had been exhibited at expositions, especially at Chicago in 1893 and St. Louis in 1904. Both attractive and unattractive features of the territory had also been advertised by the coming of a number of visitors in the 1890's. These included several groups of newspaper people who merely passed through New Mexico, but many of whom wrote up the territory, favorably or otherwise, on their return home. Other visitors during the decade included those attending an irrigation convention and a Rough Riders' reunion, both held at Las Vegas. If these were not as inclined to rush into print as the editors, the publicity attending their meetings in the territory and the vivid impressions which they carried away with them tended to make the nation more conscious of New Mexico. And, not least among those who helped to put the territory on the map were ardent residents who seldom missed an opportunity to put in a good word for the land they called home.

Having seen what New Mexico and her citizens were doing to advertise their territory, let us now consider what the newspapers outside New Mexico were doing to aid in the work. It is obviously impossible to discuss the national press as a whole. Hence we shall concentrate first on the part played by the newspapers of the Southwest. Even in dealing with this limited area, we shall not attempt to generalize, but shall take up each state separately, "swinging around the circle" from Texas to California and back to Colorado.¹

I

In 1890 Texas had four cities with populations ranging from twenty-seven thousand to thirty-eight thousand.² All four were located in the eastern part of the state, far removed from the trade routes to New Mexico. Furthermore, the Texas War of Independence and the Civil War had prejudiced the people of the Lone Star State against their neighbors on the west. Then too, political leaders in New Mexico were constantly pointing out that the demand of the sheep-raisers for a tariff on wool would make it a republican state, thus furnishing the Texans an additional reason for opposing the aspirations of the territory. The distrust which resulted between the two peoples may be illustrated by the following item which appeared in the *New Mexican* for August 28, 1890:

Senator Reagan [of Texas] opposes the passage of the land court bill, because a Republican president would have the appointment of the judges of the court, and because New Mexico's prosperity might hurt the Democratic state of Texas. Great statesmen those. The Democrats in congress give it to the people of New Mexico at every possible opportunity.

1. The second article in this series dealt with the attitude of the *New Mexican* press. See the *Review*, vol. XIV, pp. 121-142. The aid given by other territories will be omitted here.

2. *Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890* (Government Printing Office, 1895), Part I, pp. 370-373.

Since El Paso straddled the old Chihuahua trade route, and lay only five miles from the New Mexican boundary line, it had much closer relations with that territory than did the cities of east Texas. However, it had a population of only 10,338 and three small newspapers.³ Had they been interested in boosting New Mexico, their support would have been of little value. But even that little was withheld for a time. While not entirely consistent, the El Paso papers were inclined to be critical of the territory, to emphasize the opposition to statehood within New Mexico, and to oppose its admission to the union. Thus, during the long administration of Gov. Miguel A. Otero, the papers of the Gate City were much freer in criticizing his actions than were the great majority of the territorial papers. During the statehood boom at the turn of the century, when the opposition had been practically silenced in New Mexico, the El Paso *Herald* gave considerable space to these "traitors," no matter whether they expressed themselves through petition, interview, or letter.⁴

As early as Jan. 29, 1890, the Las Vegas *Optic* complained that the El Paso *Tribune* had devoted "nearly two columns of its territorial space to prove that New Mexico is not ready for statehood." The only reason given for this opinion was the statement that "A complete canvass of the Territory will hardly show any increase of the English-speaking immigrants in the past five or six years." Eleven years later the territorial press was still complaining of the hostility of the El Paso papers. Thus, in the spring of 1901, the Albuquerque *Citizen*, angered because one of them doubted "that New Mexico has intelligence enough for statehood," remarked that Texas had seen so much lawlessness, that it was "not becoming in a resident of that state to criticize the intelligence of any other community."⁵ Earlier in the same year, the *New Mexican* described the El Paso

3. *Ibid.*, p. 382; Ayers, *American Newspaper Annual* (Philadelphia, 1896), p. 751.

4. El Paso *Herald*, Jan. 18, 19, 1901. See also the *Review*, XVI, pp. 391-393.

5. Albuquerque *Citizen*, April 30, 1901.

News, a democratic paper founded in 1899, as "a vindictive sheet, published, it seems, for the purpose of harming New Mexico." The Santa Fé paper declared that the Texas paper had assailed it "most bitterly" because it had told "some unpleasant but plain truths about El Paso and the land grabbing ring down there in endeavoring to have passed by congress, the so-called Culberson-Stevens bill providing for the construction of an international dam at El Paso, and prohibiting the taking of water from the Rio Grande River in New Mexico for irrigation purposes, . . ."⁷ A Washington dispatch on the subject appeared in the *New Mexican* under the heading "Enemies of New Mexico."⁸ The Santa Fé paper stated that there was a good deal of Texas capital "and a couple of Democratic papers" behind "the land grabbing ring" which wished to rob the territory of the waters of her chief river and its tributaries.⁹ The *New Mexican* declared that it was not surprising that Senator Culberson and Congressman Stephens were expected to violate the pledge in the democratic platform, and oppose the admission of New Mexico, since representation in congress would enable the new state to defend itself to better advantage.¹⁰ Naturally, the gentlemen referred to did not give this reason for their opposition. The Washington dispatch referred to above stated briefly: "The Texans say the poorer classes (in New Mexico) are illiterate 'greasers', and not in sympathy with our institutions."¹¹ It added that Delegate Rodey accounted "for the opposition in the Texas delegation by charging it to the ill-feeling that has resulted from the international dam project."

6. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, Jan. 13, 1901.

7. *Ibid.*, Jan. 10, 1901. For a discussion of this controversy, see chapter 2 of Otero, Miguel A., *My Nine Years as Governor of the Territory of New Mexico, 1897-1906* (Albuquerque, 1940).

8. *Ibid.*, Dec. 9, 1901.

9. *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1901.

10. *Ibid.*, Dec. 9, 1901.

11. *Ibid.* The *New Mexican* for April 25, 1901, said: "The Texas delegation in congress is opposed to New Mexico's desire to become a state. Of course it is. Two Republican senators and one Republican representative in congress from the state of New Mexico would see to it that no land stealing and no water robbing Texas schemes would pass."

President Roosevelt's selection of the slayer of Billy the Kid for an important post in El Paso threatened to add to the animosity. The Albuquerque *Citizen* for Dec. 16, 1901, said:

Texas Congressmen assert that they will fight statehood for New Mexico if [Pat] Garrett is appointed collector of customs. Then it will be in order for the people of New Mexico to boycott El Paso.

As a matter of fact, however, this ill feeling was already giving way to a realization that New Mexico and Texas belonged to the same section, and possessed common interests and problems. Consequently, in May, 1902, when the house passed a bill to admit New Mexico, Arizona and Oklahoma, the El Paso *Herald* greeted the announcement as "good news for the territories, and for lovers of fair play everywhere."¹² The *Herald* declared that the west was "solid for statehood." Among the reasons given for this attitude the most striking was "the increased weight that the west would have in both houses with these additions to the union of states."

The El Paso *News*, which had so recently been denounced by the *New Mexican*, exhibited a striking change of heart in the fall of 1901. It advocated, not only the admission of New Mexico to the union, but everything else the editor thought the people of the territory wanted. In urging the importance of statehood for its neighbor, the *News* said:

New Mexico ought not to be handicapped in congress by reason of having no vote, when the land *lease law* comes up. It is proposed to lease the public range. The shepherds and the cattle owners whose fathers, grandfathers and great grandfathers lived in the hills before the coming of the people from the states, would have little chance to enjoy their heritage when penned in by corporation fences, and the men who have secured homesteads with the implicit promise of range for their little herds would be "run out" by a lease system. A lease law would be unjust to the settlers, and con-

12. El Paso *Herald*, quoted by Albuquerque *Citizen*, May 12, 1902.

gress may not enact such legislation. But if the territory had two senators and a congressman at work, the danger would be less. The growing disposition to regard the new territories, as mere colonies, with less privileges than the people need, may yet seriously affect New Mexico.¹³

Early in the following year the *News* gave its editorial support to a protest which the republicans of Lincoln county had sent to Washington against the proposed change of name of New Mexico to Montezuma, Roosevelt, McKinley, or anything else. The El Paso journal declared that if eastern people did not know "that New Mexico is in the United States," they could learn, and that the sentiment against changing the name was "general throughout New Mexico among the Americans as well as the Mexicans."¹⁴ In June, 1902, the *News* supported the demand for "another judicial district to include Chaves, Lincoln, and Eddy counties." It added:

When the territory becomes a state, she can arrange matters as the people wish, without having to beg a representative from Timbucktoo and a senator from Jingoville to please let 'em have what may be needed.¹⁵

Three months later, the El Paso paper declared that the White Oaks *Eagle* was the only newspaper in New Mexico still opposed to statehood, and suggested that the Lincoln county journal should fall in line with the other papers of the territory.¹⁶ Early in January, 1903, the *News* noted that "New Mexico seems not to be displeased" with the proposed merging of the territories of New Mexico and Arizona into one state. Accordingly the editor, after discussing the objections to this solution from the standpoint of the experience of "Loyal West Texas," concluded by advising the people of the two territories to cultivate a friendship for

13. El Paso *News*, quoted by *Albuquerque Journal Democrat*, Oct. 10, 1901.

14. *Albuquerque Citizen*, Feb. 15, 1902. See also issue for Jan. 1, 1903.

15. El Paso *News*, quoted by *Albuquerque Citizen*, June 10, 1902.

16. El Paso *News*, quoted by *Albuquerque Citizen*, Sept. 29, 1902.

one another, and to regard with pride the proposal to create a state which would rank second in size to the Lone Star State.¹⁷

II

In 1890 California was a prosperous commonwealth with a population of 2,335,523.¹⁸ San Francisco was the largest city in the Southwest, while Los Angeles was the third largest—Denver being second.¹⁹ Serving rapidly growing communities and separated by the desert and hundreds of miles from the Rio Grande valley, their editors did not take a very active interest in the affairs of New Mexico. If they were not as antagonistic toward that territory as some of the El Paso papers were at times, neither were they steady boosters like the Denver papers. Naturally they were more interested in the neighboring territory of Arizona, but not infrequently the two territories were discussed together. Judging from the available data, the newspapers of the Golden State were slow to admit that there was any special bond between the prosperous state and the struggling territory. Both had been acquired at the same time through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and New Mexicans constantly based their right to admission to full citizenship in the American union on a section of that treaty. California editors, however, gave no outward sign of ever having heard of it. Their state had a large Spanish-American population, but the editors were Anglos, who had no word of sympathy for the native population of the territory.

The disinterested, detached manner in which some of the California editors viewed the struggle for statehood for New Mexico may be illustrated by the San Francisco *Chronicle*. In the fall of 1891, when that journal took notice that statehood was "being vigorously agitated" in New Mexico, the question was considered on constitutional grounds. The *Chronicle* predicted that probably the time

17. *El Paso News*, quoted by Albuquerque *Citizen*, Jan. 7, 1903.

18. *Eleventh Census of the United States*, Part I, p. 11.

19. *Ibid.*, p. LXVI.

was "not far distant" when Alaska and possibly Utah would be the only territories left. There was no good reason for keeping the others out very long. The argument of small population was invalid, since a real believer in the federal system saw "no inequality in Rhode Island having as many senators as New York or Delaware as Pennsylvania, . . ." ²⁰

Five years later, when the *Chronicle* advocated the admission of Arizona to the union, the *Optic* reprinted the editorial with the comment: "Substitute New Mexico for Arizona in the following editorial . . . and it is equally as applicable to us as to them." In form, the argument was still along constitutional lines. The *Chronicle* said:

To exclude a properly equipped territory from statehood for fear its senators and one or more representatives may disturb the status of congress is not within the purview of the constitution.²¹

Reading between the lines, however, it is easy to see that the San Francisco journal recognized that California and Arizona were linked together by a common interest in the silver movement.

The economic ties which linked California and the two southwestern territories were well expressed by the San Diego *Union* in the fall of 1891. The *Union* said:

The future of New Mexico and Arizona is and must always continue to be of much interest and concern to the people of San Diego. Providence has established here the natural gateway through which a vast amount of exportable production of the two territories shall find egress to the markets of the world. In topography, in character of the soil and productions, and, in some respects, in climate, Arizona, New Mexico and California are similar. Over a large part of the area between the Colorado river and the Rio Grande, irrigation must be practiced to obtain the best results, or any results, indeed, from agriculture and horticulture, and already capital is engaged in the construction of

20. San Francisco *Chronicle*, quoted in Silver City *Enterprise*, Oct. 30, 1891.

21. San Francisco *Chronicle*, quoted in Las Vegas *Optic*, Jan. 8, 1896.

dams, reservoirs, distributing systems, etc., to an extent which presages abundant prosperity for the region. Our people are familiar with the desire which territorial residents especially those of Arizona, have expressed for direct rail communication with the bay of San Diego, and with the projects which have from time to time been suggested to effect the building of such a road. It must come. It will come. The commercial necessities of both regions demand it, and the geography of the southwest makes it inevitable; and when it does come the industrial pulse of both countries will beat fuller and with wholesome rapidity.²²

None of the California newspapers seem to have won recognition as loyal friends of the territories. If it was not very hearty in its support, however, the Los Angeles *Express* did claim consistency. In June, 1901, it declared that, if New Mexico and Arizona would adopt "proper constitutions," and were "willing to pay increased expenses of state government," there was "no good reason why they should not be admitted to full fellowship in the union." The editor added:

This position has been steadily maintained by the *Express*, and nothing has happened to cause any change in this opinion.

The Los Angeles *Times* was less consistent and excited the suspicions of the territorial press. In 1892 and in 1895 the *Times* predicted that Arizona and New Mexico would "soon be full stars in the union banner."²³ that their knocking at the doors of congress would not be in vain.²⁴ The territorial papers that reported these predictions failed to say whether or not the Los Angeles paper was happy at the prospect. A special mining number of the *Times* which appeared late in October, 1901, won the praise of the Lordsburg *Western Liberal*. It declared that this was "the best presentation" of the mining industry of the territory "ever

22. San Diego *Union*, Oct. 24, 1891.

23. Los Angeles *Times*, quoted in *Optic*, June 20, 1892.

24. Los Angeles *Times*, quoted in *Albuquerque Citizen*, April 2, 1895.

put in print."²⁵ The editor added that it was "bound to do a great deal of good," since it would "be distributed all through the East, where people are looking for investments." The *Times*, however, admitted that an occasional territorial paper failed to appreciate the efforts of "this stalwart champion of the Great Southwest."²⁶ A few days later both the *New Mexican* and the *Citizen* declared that the *Times* was opposing statehood for Arizona and New Mexico because it feared that the two states would become rivals of California. The *New Mexican* said:

This spirit should be resented by the people of the two territories and although the circulation of the Los Angeles Times is limited, very limited in New Mexico and Arizona, even that limited circulation should be cut off so as to show the management of the Times that the people of New Mexico and of Arizona will resent any attack upon their commonwealths.²⁷

The *Citizen* commented:

The Times should be a good friend of the two territories. If they grow and prosper, they will help build up the coast cities.²⁸

The Los Angeles paper denied that it was opposed to the admission of the territories, and accused the *New Mexican* of a malicious and absurd falsehood. It added that the attempt of the Santa Fé paper "to misrepresent the Times on this question is a lurid example of cowboy, picker-pin and riata 'gernalism.'"²⁹

Evidently the *Times* did not say in so many words that it was opposed to the admission of Arizona and New Mexico, but the territorial editors sensed the hostility of this conservative journal. The unpardonable sin committed by the latter was to refer to the opposition within the territories.

25. Lordsburg *Western Liberal*, quoted in Los Angeles *Times*, Oct. 31, 1901.

26. Los Angeles *Times*, Oct. 31, 1901.

27. *New Mexican*, Nov. 6, 1901.

28. Albuquerque *Citizen*, Nov. 7, 1901.

29. Los Angeles *Times*, Nov. 12, 1901.

After summarizing a memorial which citizens of New Mexico had sent to congress, asking for statehood, the Los Angeles paper added:

In the territory, however, as in Arizona, there is a considerable element of the population opposed to statehood.³⁰

This was true, as we have already seen, but statehood workers chose to ignore it.

The lack of sympathy with which the *Times* viewed the statehood agitation in both territories was revealed conclusively by an editorial which appeared on Nov. 15, 1901. The article was entitled "Unreasoning Shouters for Statehood." While it dealt with the movement in Arizona, it is worth careful consideration here. The editorial said:

... a renewed campaign for Statehood is under way in the Territory, . . . and certain Arizona editors are riding around upon wild broncos, hurling violent "langwidge" and other things at The Times, because this journal ventured to give the people of Arizona a suggestion as to the best manner in which the ambition entertained by some of them might be realized.

The Los Angeles paper, "not disconcerted by the attacks of the Arizona rough riders," addressed an enquiry to

a prominent, independent and well informed long resident of the Territory. This enquiry was made because the Times does not repose entire confidence in the shouting and wrangling journalists of Arizona, nor in the equally noisy politicians of both parties, nor yet in a Governor whose motives are not difficult to divine.

A reply, dated, Tucson, Arizona, Nov. 13, 1901, was printed in full.³¹ This stated that, while the whole territory was for statehood according to the democratic newspapers and politicians, there were "many doubters in Arizona, who look

30. *Ibid.*, Nov. 6, 1901.

31. *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1901.

at the question in a business way." These saw that the admission of the territory "would assure the election of democrats to offices now held under presidential appointment"; and that there would be added expense, since "the people would be compelled to pay salaries now paid by the United States government." Furthermore, they feared "that Arizona would become a rotten borough like Nevada, especially since the leading candidates for the senate in the event of statehood were corporation men. The writer admitted that many of the Arizona republicans who favored statehood were sincere. He said:

They have the idea that life is better worth living in a State, and are willing to pay for it. They believe that capital and population will rush into the new State, and that the railroads and mines will be compelled to pay nearer their proper proportion of taxes. No doubt Murphy believes all he says on the subject. He has hammered away on it for years. Of course, he, too, would like a senatorial toga; that is a laudable ambition.

No wonder the *New Mexican* and the *Citizen* regarded the *Times* with distrust, even though the editorial did not mention New Mexico, and no one could say that it was equally applicable to that territory. The author of the letter admitted that Arizona was "Democratic beyond a doubt," while Catron and Rodey claimed that New Mexico would be a republican state. Consequently, the *Times* had less reason to fear that the admission of New Mexico would mean the election of democrats to office. Nor was there so much reason to fear that the politics of New Mexico would be controlled by corporations. From the standpoint of statehood workers in New Mexico, however, the article was full of dynamite. If it was not reprinted in any of the papers of that territory, it is not surprising.

III

Colorado had been a state for only fourteen years in 1890. It had a population of 412,198. Nearly one fourth

of this number lived in Denver.³² As might be expected, the newspapers of the young commonwealth and its rising city were to take a strong interest in the destiny of New Mexico. Yet a number of them declared themselves opposed to the admission of that territory in 1889 and 1890. These included the *Denver Republican*, the *Pueblo Chieftain*, the (Denver) *Colorado Journal*, the *Leadville Dispatch* and the *Denver Field and Farm*. Two of the editorials were written by men who had formerly been connected with newspapers in New Mexico.³³ The last named paper declared that it was receiving many letters, all of which indicated that "the solid men of the territory" agreed that "the time has not yet come." They argued that New Mexico was prospering and making enormous strides in settlement," and a change to a new system was likely to retard development. While "the Mexicans" were "good, law-abiding citizens," the progress of the territory was due to the American population. The creation of a state out of New Mexico would "practically mean the creation of a foreign country within the borders of the United States, and the disfranchisement" of the American population. Hence it would be better to wait a few years until the American population had acquired the ascendancy.³⁴ The immediate purpose of the editorial was to prevent the legislature of Colorado from passing a resolution urging the admission of New Mexico to the union. The *Colorado Journal* took a more extreme position in the spring of 1890. It exclaimed:

New Mexico a state! It is not fit to become a state. Fifty per cent of the inhabitants of New Mexico are like the Lee White band, and twenty-five per cent are even worse.³⁵

Even as late as the summer of 1901, the *New Mexican* complained:

32. *Ibid.*, p. LXVII.

33. Lute Wilcox, "for quite a while connected with the press of this Territory" and Lou Hartigan, "late of the Gallup Gleaner." *Optic*, Feb. 14, 1889; Jan. 20, 1890.

34. *Denver Field and Farm*, quoted in *Optic*, Feb. 14, 1889.

35. *San Marcial Reporter*, April 5, 1890.

The Pueblo *Chieftain* says that when Statehood for New Mexico is mentioned, somebody objects to the presence of so many Mexicans of the bad man class.³⁶

The following February, the Denver *News* contained a sensational write-up of Cora Chiquita, "the Pretty Cow Girl of Santa Rosa." She was described as "a quarter blood Cherokee Indian," twenty-three years of age, who wore male attire, drank heavily, was a dead shot and who was in the habit of riding her horse into saloons and shooting up the town.³⁷

Both the Las Vegas *Record* and the Albuquerque *Citizen* agreed that such publicity was injuring New Mexico.³⁸ The territorial press was inclined to take their brother editors in Colorado to task, not only for "atrocious falsehoods about the territory," but also for their failure to champion statehood for their neighbor. Thus the *Optic* for Jan. 25, 1890, complained that "The Denver *Republican* warmly urges the admission of Arizona into the union, but is unable to find a good word to say for New Mexico as an eligible candidate for the sisterhood." "It is hard on us," the editor added, "but we will endeavor to pull through without the tow line of the *Republican*." About the same time, the *Republican* urged that congress establish a land court to end the uncertainties regarding Spanish and Mexican land grants which were retarding the settlement and development of New Mexico.³⁹ The Denver paper predicted that the territory would have a "great boom if this obstacle were removed."⁴⁰ In quoting this editorial, the *New Mexican* said: "The Denver *Republican* is helping our territory in many ways and often, and the people of New Mexico should bear this in mind." Evidently the Colorado paper could not stand out against the protests of the *Optic* and the words of ap-

36. *New Mexican*, August 7, 1901.

37. *Denver News*, Feb. 21, 1902.

38. *Albuquerque Citizen*, Feb. 26, 1902.

39. *Denver Republican*, Dec. 5, 1889.

40. *Ibid.*, quoted by *New Mexican*, April 19, 1890.

preciation of the *New Mexican*, since an editorial soon appeared in the *Republican* which favored the admission of New Mexico.⁴¹ It is interesting to note the way in which the *New Mexican* used the trade relations between Colorado and the territory to win the Colorado papers over to the support of statehood. Thus the *New Mexican* for Dec. 10, 1890, first quoted the *Pueblo Chieftain*, then presented its argument. The editorial read as follows:

"Owing to her central location and the push and enterprise of her merchants Pueblo enjoys a large wholesale trade in many kinds of goods in southern Colorado, Utah and New Mexico. This business is being vigorously pushed and every month it increases in volume," says the *Pueblo Chieftain*. And, pray, while this is so, possibly, has ever Pueblo, its press or its people had a friendly word for New Mexico? On the contrary, has it not always spoken disdainfully of this territory and belittled in the smallest way possible every New Mexican interest? When the *Chieftain* shall have attempted honestly to answer these interrogatories, and shall have shown its good will toward New Mexico that common justice demands, possibly it itself will be able to secure some of the business down here that now goes to Denver and Kansas City. As it is, it simply amounts to a narrow-gauge paper attempting to speak for a town that would be broad-gauged in its treatment of neighboring localities—if it had half a chance.⁴²

By the 1890's, the newspapers of Colorado and especially those of Denver, were doing much to give New Mexico the right kind of publicity and to aid her in the long struggle for statehood. The *Denver Republican* and the

42. The *Trinidad Advertiser* had already seen the wisdom of boosting its neighbor to the south. It declared in the spring of 1890 that, while it was not probable that the Republican administration would upset the safe majority which it had secured by the admission of the Dakotas, Washington and Montana, New Mexico was "ten times more deserving to be a state than Idaho," which would not be able to maintain statehood. The *Advertiser* predicted that Southern New Mexico, next to California, would be "the greatest fruit growing country in the United States." And that in time "the territory would rival Texas as a sheep and cattle growing country." *Trinidad Advertiser*, quoted by *New Mexican*, May 8, 1890.

Rocky Mountain News, published in the same city, were among the staunchest champions of the cause. The establishment of better railroad connections with Albuquerque, the growth of trade between the two centers, and their increased circulation in New Mexico prompted both papers to show great interest in the economic development of their southern neighbor. The realization that the growth of Denver was tied up with that of the whole Rocky Mountain region, and the fact that citizens of Colorado were using their mining experience and capital to good advantage in numerous projects in New Mexico led to detailed accounts of such developments in that territory. The people of the state were urged to attend the fairs held in Albuquerque in order that their knowledge of the products of New Mexico might enable them to get in on the ground floor in its development. Convinced that the progress which Colorado had made in twenty-five years of statehood was due largely to its admission to the union and that statehood would promote the material progress of New Mexico likewise, the Denver press seldom lost an opportunity to say a good word for the territory. Furthermore, Colorado editors saw that the admission of New Mexico would strengthen their section in the councils of the nation. Thus in the spring of 1890 the *Denver Field and Farm* said:

As a neighbor we would be glad to see that territory [New Mexico] admitted to the union. It would be a benefit to it and its industries. It would benefit Colorado, since we could rely on its senators to stand with us in all matters where the east dominates over the west.⁴³

Some of the older citizens of the state had a sentimental reason for wishing to see New Mexico a state. The appointment of Stephen B. Elkins as secretary of war "recalled to many in Colorado and New Mexico"—so the *Denver Sun*

43. *Denver Field and Farm*, quoted in *New Mexican*, March 28, 1890. Early in December, 1901, the *Denver Republican* said: "Justice and the interests of the trans-Missouri region alike demand that these three territories (New Mexico, Arizona, and Oklahoma) be admitted." (*Denver Republican*, quoted by *New Mexican*, Dec. 9, 1901.)

declared in December, 1891—"an interesting chapter of curious and almost forgotten political history." The *Sun* stated that the delegate from Colorado, Jerome B. Chaffee, had worked in vain for the admission of that territory. Then, during the winter of 1874-75, Elkins, the delegate from New Mexico, had presented the claims of his territory in a speech which had made a very favorable impression in the house, and had "also attracted the attention of the entire country. It is, perhaps, not too much to say," the *Sun* ventured, "that he made a national reputation by that one speech." The Denver banker had then promptly offered an amendment to include Colorado in the bill and the two delegates had "commenced a determined fight for their territories." Colorado had been admitted, while New Mexico remained a territory. The *Sun* concluded:

If Colorado had not been admitted at that time, she would likely have been compelled to have stayed out in the cold, dependent territorial condition until the Dakotas, Washington, Montana, Wyoming and Idaho were finally let in. That would have had much of injurious effect upon the material growth of the commonwealth and would have seriously affected a good many political fortunes. Therefore, this state is not free from obligation to the new secretary of war.⁴⁴

One influential citizen of the "Centennial State" who liked to recall the old days when Elkins had nearly gotten New Mexico into the union was Thomas MacDonald Patterson, who served as the last delegate of the Territory of Colorado in congress.⁴⁵ During a good part of the last two decades of New Mexico's struggle for statehood, he was a dominant figure in the newspaper field in his state. He had full control of the *Rocky Mountain News* from 1892 until 1913, and he also bought the *Denver Times*. A man of strong convictions, he was always ready to fight for the causes in

44. *Denver Sun*, quoted by *New Mexican*, Dec. 23, 1891.

45. The enabling act had been passed on March 3, 1875—the last day of the life of the Forty-third Congress. Patterson served as delegate from March 3, 1875, to Aug. 1, 1876, when the territory became a state.

which he was interested. As a member of the United States senate from 1901 to 1907, he earnestly championed the cause of New Mexico. As he was a man of great honesty and sincerity, it is not surprising to find that the papers he controlled gave strong support to the statehood crusade.

Even at the risk of some repetition, it may be worthwhile to indicate briefly the way in which the Colorado papers dealt with the question of statehood for New Mexico and her sister territories. Usually they showed a real understanding of the statehood movement and of the opposition, but there were exceptions. Thus the *Denver Republican* in January, 1892, expressed surprise that anyone in New Mexico should oppose statehood,⁴⁶ and in October, 1901, it declared that there was no reason why any man living in New York or Massachusetts should object to the admission of New Mexico or Arizona.⁴⁷ The Colorado papers paid slight attention to opposition within the territories, but they gave frequent, if somewhat contradictory opinions as to the opposition in the nation. Thus the *Denver Times* of Jan. 25, 1894, concluded: "The objection to the admission of New Mexico has been that her population is essentially foreign, Mexican in language, ideas and affiliation." This argument evoked a variety of answers in the Colorado press. The *Denver Republican* for Jan. 19, 1889, declared that Congressman Reed of Maine was mistaken in assuming that the population of the United States should necessarily be homogeneous. The Colorado paper admitted that, if New Mexico became a state, she would differ very much from Maine or Massachusetts in the characteristics of her people and in her laws, especially since the old law of Spain was the foundation of the probate law of the territory. The *Republican* cited the fact that the laws of Louisiana were not based on the English common law, but on the Code Napoleon. It concluded that such local differences would not affect the working of our federal system. Following the same line of argument, the same

46. *Denver Republican*, quoted in *Optic*, Jan. 20, 1892.

47. *Denver Republican*, quoted in *New Mexican*, Oct. 4, 1901.

paper of Sept. 16 declared that the ability to speak English was not a prerequisite for American citizenship.

In the fall of 1892, the *Denver Sun* declared that the "principle objection heretofore" to the admission of New Mexico had been that the population was chiefly Mexican peons, but that this argument was no longer valid, since there had been "a wonderful change for the better in the social conditions of the Territory during the last ten years," due to a large influx of Americans and an improvement in the Mexicans who had just attained manhood. Referring to the rapid development of the material interests of the territory, the *Sun* predicted that the Denver and El Paso railroad would be constructed "within a very short time *** through an entirely undeveloped section of the territory, . . ." The *Sun* added the rather doubtful "fact" that "the entire population is in favor of statehood . . ." ⁴⁸

Shortly before this, the *Denver News* had published an editorial somewhat along the same line. This emphasized the growth of the American population, the establishment of a public school system, and the progressive sentiment developing among the native people. It declared that this progress was due to the territory itself, not to the government of the United States. It further charged that, if the territory was at all backward in American ways and ideas, "the federal government is wholly to blame. Coming into the

United States as New Mexico did, its native Spanish-speaking people ought to have been the object of special consideration on the part of the nation, and ought to have been supplied with a school system forty years ago, at government expense. To have taken no pains to Americanize these people and then to refuse the Territory admission as a state because it has not progressed as rapidly as other western Territories have, is the height of national injustice. ⁴⁹

After the war with Spain, this line of argument was strengthened by the concern of the federal government for

48. *Denver Sun*, quoted in *Optic*, Nov. 30, 1892.

49. *Denver News*, quoted in the *Optic*, July 1, 1892.

for its new island possessions. Thus the *Denver News* for May 23, 1902, declared that

while teachers were being sent by the shipload to Porto Rico and the Philippines, New Mexico, although for more than 50 years a territory of the United States, had never received any aid in the way of public education. . . . When this territory passed under the dominion of the United States it was as thoroughly foreign in customs and language as Porto Rico is today. Yet the United States has taken no special pains to educate the people of that Territory, and what they have accomplished is due to their own splendid effort.⁵⁰

Even when emphasizing the "remarkable advancement in education" in the territory, the Colorado press went on to distinguish between the "alleged reason" and "the true reason" for keeping New Mexico out of the union. The latter was to be found, it declared, not in "the backwardness of the territory," but in certain political and sectional considerations. There was fear that New Mexico would prove a democratic state, and that its admission and that of other territories would add to the strength of the west in the senate.⁵¹ Thus in the spring of 1890 the *Trinidad Advertiser* said:

New Mexico is clamoring for statehood, but it hardly seems probable that the Republican administration will hurl a boomerang and upset its safe majority which it secured by the admission of the Dakotas, Washington and Montana.⁵²

Perhaps some of the Colorado papers were sometimes a little too bold in emphasizing the effect which the admission of the territories would have on the relative strength of the sections in congress. Thus in December, 1893, the *Denver News* said:

50. The *New Mexican* for May 24, 1902, reprinted an extract from an editorial in the *Rocky Mountain News* which gives the same line of argument.

51. *Rocky Mountain News*, quoted in *New Mexican*, May 24, 1902.

52. *Trinidad Advertiser*, quoted in *New Mexican*, May 8, 1890.

When New Mexico, Arizona, Utah and Oklahoma have been admitted to statehood the states west of the Mississippi will lack only six votes of a majority in the United States senate. The west and south will then be in a position to dictate to the eastern money power. That is what is chafing and worrying the effete east.⁵³

The Colorado press continually elaborated upon the statehood argument.⁵⁴ The growing population, the wealth of resources, the advancement in education, and the injustice done to the people through the denial of home-rule were all emphasized. While the argument was usually quite factual and matter-of-fact, at times it bordered on eloquence. Thus the following "very eloquent appeal" from the *Denver Post* was reprinted in the *New Mexican* for Jan. 27, 1897:

Fifty years have elapsed since New Mexico became a part of our common country. Its progress for the first half of the period was slow. It was treated as a conquered province. It had first to be Americanized before progress could begin. The wreck of the civilization of the fifteenth century had to be cleared away before the spirit of the nineteenth century could possess the land. The process required time, but the problem has worked itself out and the new towns and cities, the new railroads, the new enterprises and the new schoolhouses are ample evidence of the spirit that now animates the people of New Mexico. Today it stretches forth its hand to the nation and asks for immigration, for capital, for men and women able to invest and work and to transform its material resources into active producers of wealth and prosperity. It appeals for statehood as an assurance of the rights which belong to all citizens of the republic. These appeals are just and should be granted by the

53. *Denver News*, quoted in *New Mexican*, December 27, 1893. See also the *Denver Republican*, November 16, 1889.

54. Commenting on the statehood convention held in Albuquerque, the *Denver News* for Oct. 26, 1901, said: "The rightfulness of the claims of New Mexico for admission as a state has been so often presented in these columns that it is necessary only to approve and applaud the work of the convention . . . , and again urge that congress pay heed to the request of her people."

nation to a brave, enterprising, patriotic and intelligent people who opened a wilderness to civilization and pointed out the pathway to material greatness.

The Colorado editors kept a watchful eye on what their brethren further east had to say about New Mexico, and did not hesitate to set them straight. Thus in the spring of 1889, when it was rumored that the territory would be divided, the *Denver Republican* declared that there was not "the slightest probability of this taking place."⁵⁵ The same editorial also denied the statement of a Chicago paper "that the wealthy Mexicans dominate the country like feudal lords." The *Republican* added:

They have a great deal of influence, but so have certain Americans. Probably at one time a few Mexican families controlled the politics and, to a large extent, the business of the territory, but this is not so now. It is becoming less and less so every year.

If a westerner contributed something to an eastern journal, the *Republican* was likely to endorse what he said. Thus, Gov. N. O. Murphy of Arizona wrote in the *New York Independent* for Jan. 23, 1902, that "occasionally misinformed citizens of the territories" opposed statehood on grounds of economy, whereas in reality it was to be expected that all kinds of property would increase in value with statehood. The *Republican* declared editorially that unquestionably the governor "echoes the sentiments of a majority of the citizens of the territories, . . ." although prior to this "the chief stumbling block in the way of the territories" had been "the indifference of their own residents to the question of statehood."⁵⁶ Convinced that the *Independent* had gotten a false impression of the west from *In the Country God Forgot: A Story of Today* by Francis Asa Charles, the *Republican* promptly expressed its disapproval in an editorial

55. *Denver Republican*, April 11, 1889.

56. *Denver Republican*, Jan. 26, 1902.

headed "Misunderstanding the Southwest." The Denver paper said that the novel was "supposed to depict conditions in Arizona and New Mexico," but that "the *Independent* would do well to make investigations at first hand."⁵⁷

Occasionally territorial editors protested against "the information" regarding the territory spread by the Colorado papers. Thus, during the first half of the year 1892, the *Optic* felt it necessary to defend the native people and the federal office-holders of the territory from unjust criticisms which appeared in the editorial columns of the *Denver News*. In the first case, that journal not only stated that New Mexico was the most illiterate region in the United States in 1880, but that since then she had showed the greatest hostility toward the public school.⁵⁸ Admitting that "we may be very illiterate, down here," the *Optic* protested that the Kistler school bill of 1889 "was not defeated by the native influence, as the *News* clearly intimates," but was due to "certain Americans, having large landed interests, who objected to school districts having the right to vote a special school tax on lands."⁵⁹ The *Optic* concluded:

It is an altogether mistaken idea that the native people of New Mexico are opposed to public schools, and the sooner our friends abroad disabuse themselves of the thought, the better it will be.

Less than two months later, the *News* declared that the average territorial office-holder "does not know what a principle is, and his interest in the territory consists only in retaining the position he may be filling."⁶⁰ Declaring that this was unjust to officeholders in New Mexico, the *Optic* said:

Evidently the *News* has its ideas of the Territorial appointee from the days and men when the Territories were the dumping ground for broken-

57. *Ibid.*, July 30, 1902. On the other hand, the *Republican* recommended a series of articles on "The Great Southwest" written by Ray Stannard Baker. These appeared in the *Century* from May to August, 1902.

58. *Denver News*, quoted by *Optic*, Feb. 29, 1892.

59. *Optic*, Feb. 29, 1892.

60. *Denver News*, quoted by *Optic*, April 18, 1892.

down political hacks, sent out from all parts of the union. . . .

Nearly all those filling federal offices here were citizens of the Territory at the time of their appointment and are as truly, deeply and widely interested in New Mexico, as it is possible for any citizen of Colorado to be interested in that state. In fact, it would be difficult for friend or foe, for democrat or republican, for mug-wump or granger, to imagine how any official could more untiringly [*sic*] and sagaciously labor for the good of the Territory than the present governor has done and is still doing.⁶¹

During the last two decades of New Mexico's struggle for statehood, the Colorado papers were always ready to advise as to the fate of their southern neighbor. They did not hesitate either to censure what had been done, or to counsel as to what should be done. Their words of admonition and advice were sometimes directed toward the New Mexicans themselves, sometimes toward the senate or others in authority in national affairs. During the critical year of 1889 three Denver papers strongly suggested that the opportunity of coming into the union along with the northwestern territories was being jeopardized or lost through the actions of the New Mexicans. Thus the *Denver Republican* for March 4 declared that the adjournment of the territorial legislature without enacting the public school law was "a very serious blunder." The *Republican* pointed out that the porportion of illiteracy in the territory was high, and that public school money was divided among certain sectarian schools. Having expressed a doubt as to whether there were "more than six public schools in the Territory," the editorial predicted that Americans would hesitate to make their homes in the territory as long as such conditions prevailed. Each county, the *Republican* concluded, should see to the organization of genuine public schools. Practically the same advice was given by the *Denver News* on March 10. Meanwhile the *Denver Times* had spoken even more bluntly.

61. *Optic*, April 18, 1892.

The *Times* said it was charged that the territorial legislature which had just adjourned "has made more blunders and passed more pernicious laws and fewer good ones than any of its predecessors." If this indictment was true, the *Times* opined, "the legislature has certainly not improved the prospects of the Territory for admission as a state."⁶² The Denver papers frequently warned the New Mexicans against the folly of "divided counsels," declaring that it would defeat statehood.⁶³

The Colorado press, however, did not direct all its censure and advice at the citizens of New Mexico. During the 1890's the United States senate was repeatedly criticized by both Republican and Democratic papers in Colorado because it had postponed statehood for the territory. Thus in July, 1892, the Denver *Times* declared that that body had been guilty of "a rare piece of political cowardice" because it had postponed consideration of a statehood bill until after the elections.⁶⁴ Early in 1895 the Denver *Republican* took the senate to task, declaring that another postponement of the enabling act had "delayed prosperity."⁶⁵ Council was also freely given to both individuals and organizations that had to make any decision regarding the admission of New Mexico to the union. Thus some months before the meeting of the Republican national convention of 1896, the Denver *Republican* said, editorially: "The Republican party will not gain strength in these Rocky Mountain states by excluding New Mexico and Arizona from their just claims to statehood."⁶⁶ The attitude of the Colorado press was set forth a little more fully, however, by the Denver *Republican* for July 12, 1902, in its advice to the man who was to hold the destinies of New Mexico in his hand for a decade. The *Republican* said:

62. Denver *Times*, quoted by *Optic*, March 6, 1889.

63. See, for example, Denver *Republican*, Oct. 30, 1889; and Denver *News*, quoted by *Optic*, July 1, 1892.

64. Denver *Times*, quoted in *Optic*, July 21, 1892. See also *Optic*, Feb. 4, 1895.

65. *Optic*, Feb. 4, 1895.

66. Denver *Republican*, quoted by Albuquerque *Morning Democrat*, Jan. 22, 1896.

While Senator Beveridge, chairman of the senate committee on territories, is in Colorado, he should take note of the fact that the sentiment of the Republican party in this state is strongly in favor of the admission of Oklahoma, New Mexico and Arizona.

We who live here ought to know better than most Republicans east of the Mississippi what the sentiment of the Far West is on the subject, and also what the qualifications for statehood of the three Territories are.

As we shall see, the Indiana senator turned a deaf ear to these words of advice. There can be no doubt, however, that the Colorado press rendered effective aid, not only in boosting the territory but also in the statehood fight. The Denver papers, especially with their wider circulation, served as a clearing house for information regarding New Mexico. Their regular issues frequently mentioned mining prospects in the territory, and they also issued special New Year's Day editions which gave a resumé of the progress made in the Rocky Mountain region during the past year. It is true that New Mexico editors sometimes complained of the inadequate space given their territory,⁶⁷ but such grumbling should not lead the student to ignore the advertising value of these special issues to New Mexico. Furthermore, as we have already seen, the Colorado papers gave much space to defending the native people from attack and to elaborating on the argument for statehood. In addition, they frequently made practical suggestions as to how the state and its citizens might aid in the statehood crusade. Thus the *New Mexican* for Jan. 30, 1889, said:

The *Denver Times* and the *Republican* of the same city are advocating that the Colorado legislature shall memorialize congress to admit New Mexico as a state. The ground of the proposed action . . . is that the Centennial state was admitted largely through the efforts of S. B. Elkins, when that gentleman was delegate from New Mexico.

67. *New Mexican*, Jan. 3, 1903.

Twelve years later, during the momentous statehood fight of 1902, the *Denver Republican* published the names of the members of the senate committee on territories at least twice, and urged its readers to write these gentlemen in behalf of New Mexico, Arizona and Oklahoma.⁶⁸ Readers were also urged to write any other members of the senate with whom they were acquainted.

While the editors of New Mexico complained from time to time of the hostility or indifference of this or that paper in Texas, California or Colorado, there can be no doubt that the Southwestern press did much to advertise the territory and to aid her in her struggle for statehood. The Colorado papers gave the strongest support, and especially those of Denver. Political leaders of New Mexico were most lavish in their praise of the *Republican*. While on a visit to Colorado's capital city in the fall of 1897, Gov. Miguel A. Otero told a reporter for that paper:

I am particularly grateful to the *Republican* for the help that it is constantly giving to the interests of New Mexico. Your paper has always been a good friend to the Territory, and is doing all that it can to further our development. We have no complaint to make of Colorado people. Their interests are in many respects identical with ours, and they have always been generous in extending their help, as they have some idea of the great wealth which we have that only needs capital for its development. It is the Eastern people who do not understand the extent and variety of our resources and persistently misunderstand the character of our Mexican population, who are as loyal, as industrious and progressive as the people of any state if they have the time and opportunity for development.⁶⁹

While the little governor made no reference to aid given in the statehood struggle, this was undoubtedly due to the fact that he had been in office for only a few months and had not

68. *Denver Republican*, May 13, 1902; June 1, 1902.

69. *Denver Republican*, Oct. 6, 1897.

thoroughly identified himself with that movement at that time. When, however, Delegate Bernard Rodey wrote the *Republican* in June, 1902, he thanked the Denver paper particularly for services rendered along that line.⁷⁰ Commenting on the letter the following day, the editor said:

The service thus acknowledged was no departure on the part of the *Republican* from the course pursued for years. We have always recognized the claims of New Mexico upon the favor and good will of the public, and particularly of the National Congress.⁷¹

The next article in this series will consider the attitude of the eastern papers, particularly as illustrated by the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* and the *Washington Post*. At the same time, we shall identify some of the correspondents in the territory and in the national capital who furnished publicity for New Mexico to the press of the nation.

70. *Ibid.*, June 12, 1902.

71. *Ibid.*, June 13, 1902.

. . . I well remember the look of horror and disgust (and perhaps pity?) on the face of a Santa Ana woman whom I knew rather well when she saw a young man, half drunk, dancing in the 'corn dance' at Sia." Superintendent Towers is cited as reporting that "drinking is particularly bad at Acoma and at Jémez during their fiestas. . . . Laguna, Sandia and Isleta seem to be the worst of pueblos for habitual drinking." The author continues: "The young men pour the liquor down until they become drunk—and quite bellicose. They take this occasion to exercise without restraint their American profanity. They do this with great exuberance and with a style that is all their own. They frequently swagger about threatening all and sundry, until they are squelched by their relatives and friends or until they are lodged in the komanira by the governor. Venereal disease is not prevalent and there never has been a case of suicide or murder at Santa Ana. Still, it is admitted that profound changes are taking place, for "the weaning away of young men and women from the old time medicinemen is having the effect of undermining the whole Pueblo cultural structure."

"Cosmology and Pueblo Life," "Government and Social Life," "Corn and the Cosmos," "Hunting," "War," "Sickness and Witchcraft," "Paraphernalia and Ritual" are other chapter headings, followed by a bibliography, which while not exhaustive is helpful. Sixty or more plates and illustrations enrich the text.

Not only those interested in Indians and their culture but also the sociologist, the student of religions, and the general reader, will find the volume of more than passing consequence. As the author puts it: "One of the most amazing things about a pueblo like Santa Ana is that it can be a microcosm, complete in itself, with philosophy, art, religion and government, and yet with a population of less than 250 men, women and children. Impressive too is the fact that at Santa Ana a boy or girl grows up, marries, works, plays, lives, loves, and dies within a community of only twelve score of persons."—P.A.F.W.

Pima and Papago Indian Agriculture. By Edward F. Castetter and Willis H. Bell. First of *Inter-Americana Studies*, Dr. Joaquín Ortega, editor, of the School of Inter-American Affairs, University of New Mexico. (The University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, N. M., 1942. Pp. 245. Illus., index, and bibliography.)

An intensive study of the culture of the aborigines of southwestern Arizona, this volume is a welcome addition to the scientific literature of the Spanish Southwest. The book is the result of field studies by Drs. Castetter and Bell of the University of New Mexico faculty, in three consecutive years on the Pima and Papago Indian reservations, each author working independently with his informants and interpreters. These field studies were supplemented by data gleaned from historical, ethnographical and archaeological literature. That this part of the investigation was comprehensive can be gathered from the extensive bibliography which precedes the index in the final pages.

The treatise is divided into ten chapters subdivided into many categories. The first chapter deals with the history, ethnography and geography of the Pimans including in that term the Papagoes. Chapter II describes their land, climate and vegetation. In the third chapter under the heading "Early Basin of Piman Existence," archaeological, historical and ethnographical evidence are considered especially as to the utilization of native wild plants and native wild animals. Then follows a chapter on cultivated crops which include maize, beans, pumpkins, cotton, gourds, tobacco, martynia, wheat and barley, watermelons, cow peas, chick peas, lentils, garden peas, chili—a rather wide range for a desert country having an average rain fall of less than ten inches, made possible only by irrigation, a later chapter stating that there are indications and evidence of irrigation having been practiced in that region more than a thousand years ago. The succeeding chapter headings further indicate that the treatment of the subject is thorough and scientific as well as practical. These headings are: "Selection, Development

and Ownership of Land," "Agricultural Implements," "Planting, Irrigation and Cultivation," "Harvest, Storage and Seed Selection," "Cultivation and Utilization of Tobacco, a Ceremonial Crop" and "General Ceremonial Aspects of Piman Agriculture."

Even to the lay reader, this volume should be interesting as can be gauged from quotations such as these: "The Papago never grew tobacco in their fields, for it must be grown in secret and a man must be in the right spirit when planting. One who planted it must not let anyone see him do so, and, when visiting his tobacco patch which was out of sight of all the other fields, he took a circuitous route so that no one would suspect or learn where he was going. If someone discovered the patch and saw the young plants, they would dry up. . . . The Papago planter then sang the tobacco planting song four times and finally placed the seed in the ground. Each time he came back to see the plants, at required intervals of four days, he sang the same song to the tobacco four times, believing that this gave it more strength (four is the ritual number among both the Papago and the Pima." Smoking was considered injurious to young men and practically forbidden to them as "it was considered injurious, weakening them, causing a cough, making them lazy and fat, or unable to stand cold and preventing them from being alert."

The book is an important contribution to the literature of the Southwest. In addition, it has practical bearing on cultural relations and understanding of various phases of life and races in the Americas.—P.A.F.W.

Compendium and Description of the West Indies. By Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa. Translated by Charles Upson Clark. (Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1942. xii+862 pp.; index. \$2.50.)

At the Vatican Library in Rome in 1929, Dr. Clark found this monumental work almost exactly three centuries after it was last in the hands of its author. Vázquez, a

Carmelite friar, was in Mexico City in 1612 and again in 1622, after spending the intervening years wholly in Central and South America. In 1622 he returned to Spain and was engaged in the final revising and printing of his *Compendium* when he died in 1630. How it found its way to the Vatican is immaterial.

In his excellent translation, Dr. Clark supplies a helpful and illuminating Introduction, brief but adequate. We regret with him that it was not feasible for the Smithsonian to publish also the Spanish text; in some cases the reader can trace an expression to its source, but in others he is left in doubt. Espejo, for example, never used the word *cíbolos* but wrote of "vacas corcobadas que llaman *de Cíbola*." (see sections 39, 546, 562) Nor were the Vaquero Indians "cow-boys" in any proper sense of that word. (sec. 321) "Audien-cia" and "Adelantado" have no satisfactory equivalents in English,—and would better have been left in Spanish. (p. ix) The "cachupines" were not "greenhorns" or simply "newcomers" (secs. 374, 456, index) but peninsular-born Spaniards as distinguished from American-born, *criollos*. Strangely, the latter term is not found in the Vázquez text except once—and then to distinguish American-born negroes from those African-born. (sec. 915)

Vázquez divided his work in two Parts, relating respectively to the "Secretariat of New Spain" and to the "Secretariat of Perú and the Spanish Main." The second Part is twice as voluminous as the first,—a fact not surprising in view of his division of time above indicated. Each Part, moreover, was arranged in six Books, and these also are very unequal in length. The shortest Book (Audien-cia of Panama) has four chapters; the longest (Audien-cia of Lima) has ninety-five. As was the Spanish custom, the "Table of Contents" with titles by books and chapters will be found at the end of each Part: at pages 295-300 and pages 785-791 respectively.

Tremendously impressive is the way in which Vázquez concludes each Part of his *Compendium* with a detailed tabulating of appointive, salaried offices to the farthest corners

of the vast empire which Spain had built up in little more than a century. The picture thus had, for example, of the ramifications of colonial administration under its Secretariat of New Spain is bewildering, overwhelming. Not only did the king himself make literally hundreds of such appointments, from the viceroy at 25,000 ducats down to numerous humble church canons and clerics at 200 or 300 pesos; other hundreds of salaried posts were filled by the viceroy; still others by the Marqués del Valle (descendant of the conqueror, Cortés); still others by the president of the Audiencia of Guadalajara—or another of the audiencias. Other lists covered judicial jobs; still others, ecclesiastical posts from archbishops down the line. An interesting list (p. 289) shows offices filled by the viceroy, normally assigned to “servants” (probably the Spanish word is *criados*), among whom we see the “governor of New Mexico, 2,000 pesos.” Besides this governor, the viceroy was entrusted with appointing to 144 judicial posts, 68 *alcaldías mayores*, and 75 *corregimientos*. (sec. 863)

Dr. Clark notes (p. vii) that “Vázquez does not consider himself a historian,” yet very decidedly the *Compendium* has great historical value, for various cogent reasons ably stated by Dr. Clark. On the other hand, the reader will probably decide that the source-value of the *Compendium* is by no means uniform throughout. This is not strange, for the task which Vázquez had set himself was herculean and for various parts of the vast colonial possessions of Spain he had to rely on the writings and statements of others; any errors of the latter were very apt to be reflected by Vázquez.

As an example, let the reader run through the statements made by the author about Francisco Vázquez de Coronado who, in 1629, seems to loom up remarkably against the background of sixteenth century events. Indeed, Vázquez de Espinosa reverts so frequently in his *Compendium* to Vázquez de Coronado as to suggest strongly the surmise of some close relationship between their families. The data given us about the “discoverer of New Mexico” are in part well established historically; in some respects they are

definitely wrong; and in some details they are curious, to say the least. The data are such as might have been gleaned by the author from family papers, an *información de parte* or a statement of *méritos* with which possibly his father or grandfather or other relative had sought royal favor, strengthening the appeal by incorporating some account of the distinguished services of this collateral relative (if Don Francisco was such.) In some respects the data here found are quite foreign to any such papers with which the present reviewer is familiar from the Coronado-Bocanegra lineage.

We meet Don Francisco first when the author tells us (sec. 305) that Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, on reaching Culiacán, "were clothed and feted by General Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, who at that time was setting out on the conquest of those provinces" (*sic*). Of especial interest are passages found in Book IV. At section 524 we are told that when Nuño de Guzmán and Fernando Cortés got into controversy, the Emperor Charles V in effect put them both aside and

at Toledo on April 18, 1537, appointed as governor and captain general of those kingdoms and provinces, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, a gentleman native of Salamanca. He was a descendant of the blood royal of the kings of France; his ancestors had settled in the Kingdom of Galicia . . . Accordingly when this noble knight had arrived in this kingdom named "Greater Spain" by Nuño de Guzmán after his conquest of it, he found most of it in rebellion and many of its provinces needing to be subdued. With great courage, executive ability, and persistence, he succeeded in overcoming the rebellion and restoring peace; and for the above reasons, he gave these provinces the name "Kingdom of New Galicia" which it bears at present; and his descendants, the Marquesses de Villamayor, are its *adelantados mayores*.

Then in the next section (525), the author states that the viceroy himself, Don Antonio de Mendoza had failed to subdue and pacify certain provinces—but "Gov. Francisco

Vázquez de Coronado by his circumspection, courage, and persistence conquered, subdued, and colonized this region. . . .” His Majesty “wrote him in grateful appreciation of his valuable and distinguished services, on February 20, 1539,”—and made him inspector of silver mines in the whole of New Spain; “and for these services he granted him the favor of entailing to him the income” from fourteen villages which are named “for his life and those of his children and grandchildren and descendants, all in the district of New Galicia of which he was governor.”

From New Galicia the author turns to New Vizcaya, and after some description we are told:

President Nuño de Guzmán and Diego de Ybarra, knight of the Order of Santiago, began the work of subduing these provinces, and later the pacification was completed by Gov. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, by dint of his persistence and courage, but at the cost of many hardships for himself and men. . . .

After a brief and somewhat garbled account of the Coronado expedition, we read:

Since they were suffering great hardships and the country was so cold and poor, and he saw that his men were worn out and disheartened, for fear they might mutiny he wisely turned back for New Spain, having traveled in this expedition over 1,000 leagues, suffering great hardships and much hunger. So he returned to Mexico City, and in view of the great services he had rendered His Majesty, the viceroy came out to meet him with the Audiencia, justices, and the city at large, and paid him the high honors due his merits.

Perhaps the most curious statement about Coronado, together with several inaccuracies, is found in the opening section (548) of the chapter which then follows, with further account of Coronado's exploits, of New Viscaya and the exploration of New Mexico:

Gov. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado governed New Galicia and New Vizcaya (*sic*) eleven years (*sic*) for His Majesty, during which time he subdued and brought under orderly administration all those provinces. He made a loan to Queen Joan, mother of the Emperor, of his whole salary for his term of office (*sic*); and this circumstance, together with the heavy expenses he incurred in the exploration of New Mexico, was responsible for his dying a very poor man in the year 1551 (*sic*) in Mexico City. He left two (*sic*) legitimate daughters by his wife, Doña Beatriz de Estrada. These were Doña Isabel de Luján and Doña Marina Vázquez de Coronado, and they were left in poverty, having been deprived of the income of their allotments, although His Majesty, when he sent him off on his explorations, had promised they would not be withdrawn; but the latest enactments with regard to the case did not return them to them.

Coronado had served less than six years as governor of New Galicia when he was suspended from office in August 1544,—and this was many years before there was any New Vizcaya. The loan to the Queen mother seems very hypothetical; Doña Juana became hopelessly insane after the death of Philip of Burgundy, and she was in retirement at Tordesillas from 1509 until her own death in 1555—although her son Charles coupled his name with hers in legal documents whenever necessary. But such a loan during the years 1538-44 from one who shortly before had gone to Mexico City as a young *criado* of the Viceroy Mendoza? It sounds quite dubious. And as to Coronado's daughters, we have shown elsewhere that three of them were married to three sons of the Bocanegra family.¹ There are many other points of interest in the remaining chapters of Book IV regarding Coronado's descendants and heirs, and on the exploration and description of New Mexico, but how much more important and valuable it all would have been if Vázquez de Espinosa had himself investigated this far northern frontier instead of

1. See "The Coronado-Bocanegra Family Alliance," in *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XVI, 401-431, *passim*.

giving us a "compendium" of what he was able to get at second hand. Before turning from this part of the volume, we must comment on the queer idea which the author had of Esteban the Negro. He tells us (sec. 552) that it was in the town of Cíbola in 1539 that they killed him and adds: "he died for the spread of faith in Christ."

The *Compendium* is a formidable book. It would have been more convenient and attractive in two volumes, one for each of the Secretariats. Few if any are going to read right through it, but the reader who lets Dr. Clark guide him by the numerous indications in his "Introduction" will find many a delightful passage. And students will go to it again and again for data and description which they can turn to easily by using the two "tables of contents" and the index. —LANSING B. BLOOM.

Spanish Beginnings in the Philippines, 1564-1572. By Edward J. McCarthy, O.S.A. (Catholic University of American Press, Washington, 143.9+145 pp., bibliog., index.)

Very timely is the appearance of this monograph on the early history of the Philippine Islands, issued as Volume III in the University series, *Studies in Hispanic-American History*. The author is on the faculty at Villanova College in Pennsylvania, and he must have taken especial pleasure in preparing this dissertation for the doctorate degree because of the important part played by the Augustinian Order in carrying Christianity to the Islands.

The author's "Essay on Sources" shows that he made comprehensive and able use of widely scattered materials available in this country, including a considerable body of transcripts secured from Spain. Possibly his study might have been further enriched from sources in Rome. The present reviewer will never forget the thrill he experienced when, at the Propaganda Fide, he was permitted to scan through volume after volume of 16th and 17th century missionary correspondence from all quarters of the world—

letters mostly in Italian and Latin, but often also in Spanish or Portuguese, French, even Arabic (but fortunately these last are decoded). There are the letters on fragile rice-paper telling of the Jesuit martyrs in Japan; and others on such paper which came from China and the Philippines. Certain volumes of such correspondence, missing in Rome, were found at the Biblioteca Classense in Ravenna, over on the Adriatic. Someone can do a remarkable service for Church scholarship by securing a complete facsimile copy of all that early missionary correspondence.

But we have digressed. Dr. McCarthy's very readable and well-documented study opens with a survey of "Backgrounds and Approaches." Then begins his account of the expedition sent out from New Spain under command of Miguel López de Legaspi, accompanied by the Augustinian father, Andrés de Urdaneta. The latter went not only as a missionary but also as a pilot who was given the important task of deciding the best return-route from the Islands, a route which was to be used by the "Manila galleons" for over two hundred years.

The Spanish settlement on the Island of Cebu and later on Panay was a violation of the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494 with Portugal; so the chapter on "Rival Claims and Hostilities" points up the critical situation which Legaspi had to meet, and did meet successfully. Not until 1570 did Spanish occupation expand to the Island of Luzon—and Manila dates only from 1572, in August of which year Legaspi died. Chapter VI gives an account of "The Spiritual Conquest," and in the closing chapter the author gives an appraisal of "Legaspi's Place in History." He agrees with E. G. Bourne in according Legaspi "a place among the greatest of colonial pioneers."

Too often doctorate theses are pretty heavy reading. Here is one which is really enjoyable.—LANSING B. BLOOM.

Maxwell Land Grant: A New Mexico Item. By William A. Keleher. (The Rydal Press, Santa Fé, N. M., 1942. Pp. 168. Sources, Index and illustrations. \$3.00.)

The story of the Maxwell Grant as told by the author is a colorful drama, in fact, a tragedy, as it concludes with the eviction of the squatters who had settled on the grant. It is an interesting account of events which shaped to a large degree the development of northern New Mexico and also left a decided impress on its history during the period covered, from 1841 to 1892. The author has a terse style which flows smoothly and grips the attention of the reader. Having known personally the principal actors in the drama, and buttressed by his knowledge of the land laws, he writes authoritatively. The high lights include many a thrilling tale of frontier violence and political intrigue characteristic of the days when the railroads came to New Mexico. Across the pages march the rough and ready men of pioneer days, heroes and scoundrels; others who became governors, United States senators, cabinet members; path-finders such as Kit Carson, Lucien B. Maxwell, Carlos Bent; priests, Protestant ministers, Indians, a motley crowd of men and women of all types and classes.

In the introductory chapter, Keleher reviews concisely Spanish land laws, leading up in the second chapter to the account of the acquisition of the grant by Miranda and Beau-bien. The petition for the grant as submitted to Governor Manuel Armijo reveals something of the conditions prevailing in Mexico a hundred years ago. An amusing letter written by Carlos Bent in 1841 to M. Alvord* in Santa Fé excoriates in unmeasured terms Padre Antonio José Martínez, curate of Taos. According to the author, in his third chapter, "the Maxwell Land Grant has had no counterpart in the story of land grants in New Mexico." He tells something of the remarkable career of Lucien B. Maxwell, who acquired the grant through marriage and purchase, and who

*No "Alvord" at Santa Fé in 1841 is known. This is evidently a misreading for Manuel Alvarez, friend of Bent and at that time U. S. consul in Santa Fé.—Editor.

founded the First National Bank in Santa Fé with part of the proceeds from the sale of the grant to a syndicate of English and Dutch investors. In the sixth chapter is set forth the claim of the Utes and Jicarilla Apaches to the lands covered by the grant. Then follows a chapter descriptive of the Cimarron country and its towns and mining camps. The eighth chapter recounts the murder of the Rev. T. J. Tolby, a Methodist minister, and the vengeance inflicted on the supposed murderer. It also tells about the Rev. Thomas Harwood, another Methodist missionary "a one-man army of the Lord." Also about the Rev. O. P. McMains, preacher and editor, who was accused of the lynching of Cruz Vega, whose body was found hanging from a telephone pole, with evidence that he had been tortured horribly before a lariat had been drawn taut about his neck.

The latter half of the book outlines the financing and the litigation which finally vested the huge grant of almost 2,500 square miles, or more than twice the area of the state of Rhode Island, in "the Maxwell Land Grant and Railway Company." Exciting incidents of vigilante days, with personal references to numerous men of prominence still remembered by many, but of whom only one, ex-Governor George Curry, survives at this time. Frank W. Springer who successfully conducted the litigation for the Maxwell Company, Thomas B. Catron, Stephen B. Elkins, Surveyor General George W. Julian, Judge Elisha Long, Colonel William Breeden, George W. Prichard, Judge William A. Vincent, U. S. Senator Stephen W. Dorsey, Robert Ingersoll and others more or less famous, appear upon the scene with occasional asides which throw additional light upon the days in which they lived. As to Springer, the author concludes: "Springer's zeal and learning, his outstanding ability as a lawyer, his great industry and perseverance had never been put to a greater test, or been more magnificently rewarded. Successful termination of the litigation was a great tribute to Frank W. Springer personally and marked the zenith of his career as a member of the bar in New Mexico." As there were other important aspects to the career of Springer as

a scientist, philanthropist, art lover, builder, one cannot help but wish that the author with his literary charm may find time to write a biography of Springer and his brother, both of whom he knew personally, and while so many others now living are in position to contribute details of their hobbies, foibles and tremendous contributions to the welfare and growth of New Mexico. Such might also be the hope as to Lucien B. Maxwell, Thomas B. Catron and Stephen B. Elkins, who had an intimate human side that was romantic and at times lovable as well as historically significant. Anyway, *Maxwell Land Grant* is good reading and well worth the three dollars charged for the volume.—P.A.F.W.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

AN OLD PAINTING: ST. JOSEPH AND THE CHRIST CHILD

For years an old lady who lived in an adobe house near Belen brought all her troubles to an oil painting of St. Joseph, and she said the good saint never failed to answer her prayers.

Today that painting has been pronounced the authentic work of an "old master," and appraised at a minimum of \$25,000.

Albuquerque relatives of Juana Maria Castillo remember her as a tall, slender old woman, wrapped in a black shawl. They say she had smooth dark hair and burning black eyes in a pale face. They say she would sit for hours before the painting of St. Joseph, which always occupied the place of honor on the whitewashed walls of her parlor.

The canvas was given to Juana Maria by her father-in-law, Francisco Castillo, who said it had come from Spain more than 300 years ago. She always said that St. Joseph worked many miracles for her and for others.

Just before she died, Juana Maria Castillo asked that the painting be given to her nephew and niece, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Gilbert of Albuquerque. She said they had always loved the painting and she knew they would take good care of her saint.

For the present the painting hangs at the home of Mrs. Gilbert's brother, Bennie Salazar.

Some time ago an Albuquerque artist, Carl Van Hassler, sat talking in the Gilbert home when his eye fell upon the canvas.

"Where did you get that?" he asked excitedly. And was told that it was an old family heirloom.

"But it's a Murillo, or maybe a Raphael," Van Hassler exclaimed. "Why it must be worth thousands of dollars."

Van Hassler searched for a signature but someone had reframed the canvas and cut it off to fit the new frame.

At the artist's insistence, the painting of St. Joseph was

shipped to Los Angeles, where the expert, Charles Haskell, of the Huntington Library, gave his opinion that the canvas is the work of the great Renaissance painter, Raphael, or one of his school.

"This is an excellent work of art of exceptional merit and in excellent condition," wrote the expert, who found it more Italian than Spanish in technique and feeling.

He said it might be the work of Perugino, or Raphael, Correggio, Guido Reni, or Carlo Dolci.

"If Spanish," wrote Haskell, "it can be attributed to but one artist—the great Murillo of the 17th century."

The canvas is 28 by 36 inches in size. The artist depicted St. Joseph in robes of blue and red, standing on top of the world, against a misty blue background. In one arm the gentle faced saint holds the Infant Jesus, and in his right hand is a spray of Easter lilies.—*Albuquerque Evening Tribune*, Apr. 6, '43.

THE "VIA CRUCIS" AT THE CRISTO REY CHURCH, SANTA FÉ

On the evening of Friday, April 16, a very old set of the *via crucis* was blessed at the Church of Cristo Rey in Santa Fé. Monsignor Joseph Giraud officiated at the service, he and the parish priest, Father Julius Hartman, saying the stations of the cross together.

The stations are painted on wood and formerly hung in the old *Castrense*, or Military Chapel, which was erected on the south side of the plaza back in 1761. That old church disappeared nearly a hundred years ago, but the large carved stone reredos was saved by Archbishop Lamy and gave inspiration to the late Archbishop Gerken for designing the new church in the eastern part of the city, where it stands behind the high altar.

How the old set of stations came to be restored to church use has been incorrectly stated in the public press. What really happened is as follows. When the old *Castrense* was of no further use to the Church, the property was sold by Bishop Lamy to Felipe Delgado of Santa Fé; and from him

possession of the stations descended to a grand-nephew of the same name. The latter, whose fine tenor voice took him some years ago to Los Angeles and Hollywood, loaned the stations to the "Casa Adobe," a museum of the Huntington Library; but when he died about two years ago, his last request was that these stations be given back to the Church. His sisters, one of whom is Mrs. Gilberto Espinosa of Albuquerque (*née* Frances Delgado), naturally respected their brother's wish—although it took some time to persuade the Huntington Library to release them. And thus they came finally to the late Archbishop Gerken.—L.B.B.

A SNAPSHOT OF THE LATE ARCHBISHOP

We are indebted to Father Robert M. Libertini, S.J., for a photograph which is of more than passing interest. Father Libertini is now a chaplain at the General Hospital in Santa Barbara, but he was pastor at Alameda in 1936 when he took this picture, which was published in the *Albuquerque Evening Tribune* of March 3 with a feature article by Jim Toulouse.

The occasion was a brief stop at the old Albuquerque airport by His Eminence Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli. In 1936 he was papal secretary of state and was making a tour of the United States, accompanied by Archbishop Francis J. Spellman of New York who has been much in the European news this spring, while the cardinal has occupied the papal throne for the last four years as Pope Pius XII. The late Archbishop Gerken came down from Santa Fé to greet them, and here appears informally as he was so well known to his fellow-citizens of the Southwest.

NECROLOGY

ARCHBISHOP RUDOLPH ALOYSIUS GERKEN

Death came for the Archbishop of Santa Fé, the Most Rev. Rudolph Aloysius Gerken, at St. Vincent's Sanitarium in Santa Fé at noon of March 2, 1943. He had been found unconscious that morning on the floor of his bedroom in the episcopal residence, having suffered a stroke of cerebral thrombosis, the sequel of several years of high blood pressure. His right side was completely paralyzed. Medical science was unavailing, and the last rites of the church were administered by the Rt. Rev. Monsignor Joseph Giraud, chaplain of the Sanitarium.

Born at Dyersville, Iowa, March 7, 1887, the son of William and Elizabeth Sudmeier Gerken, Rudolph Gerken was the seventh archbishop of Santa Fé, having succeeded the late Archbishop Albert T. Daeger, on June 10, 1933. After attending Pio Nino College in Milwaukee, and St. Joseph's College at Rensselaer, Ind., he went to Texas thirty-five years ago and taught in the public schools of Muenster and Windthorst. A few years later he taught at the University of Dallas and thence went to Kenrick seminary, St. Louis, where he was instructor in languages. He was ordained a priest of the Roman Catholic Church by the Most Rev. Joseph P. Lynch, Bishop of Dallas, in the Cathedral of the Sacred Heart, Dallas, on June 10, 1917. He served as pastor of Sacred Heart parish, Abilene, Tex., and later of St. Rita's church at Ranger, Texas. He was appointed bishop of the newly formed diocese of Amarillo, Texas, being consecrated on April 26, 1927, and installed two days later by Bishop Lynch, who had ordained him a priest and who preached the sermon at his installation. Quoting from *The Catholic Register*:

Immediately after his installation in Amarillo, Archbishop Gerken undertook to meet the many difficulties presented by the Texas Panhandle diocese. By organizing catechism classes and securing volunteer teachers, he was able



Courtesy of the Rev. G. Goñi, S.J.

A SNAPSHOT AT THE ALBUQUERQUE AIRPORT IN 1936: CARDINAL PACELLI
(NOW POPE PIUS XII) WITH THE LATE ARCHBISHOP GERKEN AND
ARCHBISHOP SPELLMAN

to bring the faith to many Catholic children who had never been schooled in their faith. When he left the Amarillo diocese in 1927, he was recognized as an able administrator who had faced and solved many serious problems brought about by the vastness of his Episcopal territory, which on one occasion he called the pioneer mission field in the United States.

When, on Aug. 23, 1933, he was installed as Archbishop of Santa Fé, the rite was declared to be one of the most picturesque ever seen in the nation. It was made particularly notable by the presence of the then new Apostolic Delegate to the U. S., Archbishop Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, who officiated at the ingressus, and of the exiled Apostolic Delegate to Mexico, the Most Rev. Leopoldo Ruiz y Flores, now Archbishop of Morelia, Mexico, who was then residing in San Antonio, Tex. Five other Archbishops and eighteen Bishops also attended the event.

Archbishop Gerken's nine and one-half years of service in the Santa Fé archdiocese were marked by an ever-expanding program of religious education.

He established the Archdiocesan Teachers' college in Albuquerque and St. Mary's convent in Santa Fé.

Anxious to make his farflung archdiocese a strongly knit unit of the Church, Archbishop Gerken devoted himself to building up his diocesan organizations. The Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women and the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine carried on under his guidance a program designed to strengthen the faith of every Catholic in the territory. Study clubs, instruction classes, religious vacation schools, a weekly diocesan paper, the *Register*—all these the Archbishop used in his program of progress in New Mexico.

Building went ahead at a rapid pace in his reign. Constantly, somewhere in the state, a little mission chapel was being built by the faithful Mexicans or Indians who form the greater part of the archdiocese's population.

One of the most important developments under Archbishop Gerken was the founding, in the fall of 1935, of the

Lourdes Trades school in Albuquerque, where boys are given both academic and vocational training.

An institution international in its influence was founded in Archbishop Gerken's territory in September, 1937, when Motezuma seminary in the Sangre de Cristo mountains near Las Vegas was opened as a training school for priests to served the persecuted Catholics of Mexico. Montezuma was established by the American Hierarchy, working in collaboration with the Bishops of Mexico.

Archbishop Gerken supervised the remodeling of the old Baptist college that now houses the seminarians. The building had originally been put up in the 1890's as a resort hotel. Archbishop Gerken welcomed the first 300 students to Montezuma in the fall of 1937, and a year later the institution was training 450 boys for the priesthood in Mexico. Some of its graduates are already at work in Mexico.

Among the notable church edifices built during his archepiscopate were El Cristo Rey in Santa Fé built around the famous stone reredos of the former Castrense and one of the most remarkable ecclesiastical structures in the United States; St. Anne's church, in Santa Fé, also an adobe building, unique in architecture; St. Charles Borromeo church in Albuquerque; and churches in Abiquiú, Lumberton, Laguna and other parishes, most of them in the New Mexico Mission style. Only recently, a reconstruction of the interior of St. Francis Cathedral, necessitated by weakening of pillars and their foundations, was completed under his supervision.

Archbishop Gerken was the first archbishop to set up the chancery as a business office outside the episcopal residence on Cathedral place and made it one of his self-assigned tasks to collect old and valuable archives of the archdiocese which he placed in a fire-proof vault at the chancery.

Twice in Archbishop Gerken's tenure changes were made in the ecclesiastical government of the Province of Santa Fé, of which he was Metropolitan. The first, on Dec. 26, 1939, saw the Diocese of Gallup set up to include the counties of Coconino, Mohave, Navaho, and Yavapai, all in

Arizona, and the counties of San Juan, McKinley, and Catron and parts of Rio Arriba, Sandoval, Bernalillo, and Valencia, all in New Mexico.

The second change came Nov. 15, 1941, when the Diocese of Denver, formerly a suffragan see of the Santa Fé province, was created an archdiocese. This left the Santa Fé archdiocese with two suffragan dioceses—those of El Paso and Gallup.

In 1933 there were 106 priests, 54 secular and 52 regular, serving the archdiocese; in 1942 there were 110 priests, 70 secular and 40 regular. In 1942 there were 57 churches with resident pastors, one more than in 1933. Other comparative figures with the 1933 statistics given first and the 1942 record second are as follows: Ecclesiastical students—18 and 37; junior seminaries—0 and 1; schools—35 and 36; pupils in colleges, academies, and parochial schools—6,198 and 7,008; pupils in public schools taught by nuns—3,232 and 3,542; hospitals—6 and 7.

Throughout this period the population of the archdiocese increased from 136,385 to 141,201.

From the *Santa Fé New Mexican*:

The gray-and-gold casket bearing the body of the pontiff had been placed in the center of the sanctuary just back of the rail, the head being elevated in order that the full figure might be seen from every part of the church. Two members of the guard of honor were on duty.

Three tall ebony candlesticks flanked the casket at either side with their tall lighted tapers. The body of the archbishop was garbed in his robes of purple and gold and the white mitre of his office was placed upon his head. His hands were folded into his purple gloves on which the episcopal ring gleamed. Many of the mourners brought rosaries to be touched to the ring by the guards, for this insignia of his office is known to contain a holy relic. At one side of the casket was draped the cappa magna, white cape with black crosses which is part of an archbishop's official vestments, and beside it was laid the pectoral cross, another insignia of office.

People from all walks of life, from richest to poorest, were among those mourning the death of their spiritual leader in the archdiocese. Classes from the Catholic schools paid their respects in a body, reciting prayers in a soft, low monotone throughout the day.

Archbishop Urban J. Vehr of Denver, in the black vestments of the church in mourning, chanted the high requiem mass. A choir of 50 Mexican students for the priesthood from Montezuma seminary, Las Vegas, N. M., which Archbishop Gerken had a leading roll in founding, sang the Latin responses.

Bishop J. P. Lynch, Dallas, who had ordained the deceased archbishop and consecrated him as a bishop, gave an eloquent English sermon of a biographical nature. Bishop Sidney M. Metzger, El Paso, who was to have given the Spanish sermon, was grounded in Kansas as he was flying to Santa Fé and Bishop Mariano Garriga, Corpus Christi, spoke in his place.

After several misty days the sun broke through the clouds in Santa Fé and its rays slanted down upon the altar and main aisle lighting up the clouds of aromatic incense hovering over the archbishop's casket. The altar was bare of decoration except for several tall candles, according to the custom at a requiem mass. The only flowers were two tall baskets of Calla lilies, one on each side of the casket.

Long streamers of purple and white descended from the apse to the sanctuary rail forming a canopy under which the officers of the mass intoned their frequent "Requiescat in pace's" over the bier.

In the choir loft at the rear of the church the seminarians from Montezuma enhanced the solemn grandeur of the mass with their Gregorian chant. It was evident to those who listened in the otherwise hushed cathedral that the youths were seeking to repay a debt of gratitude to a benefactor who made it possible for them to follow their religious vocation at a time when Mexico banned education by the church.

Archbishop Vehr was escorted from La Fonda to the

cathedral, mitred and in pontifical vestments, by all of the bishops and priests here for the ceremonies. There were 104 of them.

The State Guard with its band, playing a funeral march, stood before the cathedral doors as the procession entered.

The church was already filled with parishioners and visitors except for the pews reserved for Governor Dempsey, his staff, the clergy and orders of the religious.

Immediately after the conclusion of the mass, the casket was lowered beneath the high altar to be placed in the last of the crypts reserved there for the dignitaries of the diocese. Only the prelates and clergy remained for this rite, aside from Charles Digneo and a helper. Digneo, employed to seal the crypt, finished a work begun by his father. The elder Digneo, Carlos, was one of the progenitors of the Italian families prominent here and in Albuquerque today who were brought across by Archbishop John B. Lamy to finish the cathedral.

The Archbishop's remains were placed in the Episcopal vault under the Cathedral, where are buried three of his predecessors, the Most Rev. J. B. Lamy, first Archbishop; the Most Rev. Peter Bourgade, fourth Archbishop; and the Most Rev. Albert T. Daeger, O.F.M., fifth Archbishop. Two Vicars General, Monsignor Eugillon and Monsignor Fourchegu, are also interred in the vault. The archbishop is survived by four brothers, three sisters and an uncle. His parents are dead. The uncle lived with the archbishop in Santa Fé. The brothers are: Ludwig and Oscar, farmers of Happy, Texas; William of Amarillo, and Henry of Dyersville, Ia. The sisters are: Mrs. William P. Jansen, Umbarger, Texas; Mrs. Ed. Klosterman, Dyersville, and Mrs. Ben Willemberg, Independence, Ia.

Archbishop Gerken, because of his tolerance and general friendliness, had a host of friends in all circles and denominations. He was generous and many deeds of kindness and charity, of which the world knew nothing, stood to his credit. Deeply interested in the history and traditions of the Southwest, he gathered historical documents and

ecclesiastical records and had them classified and catalogued by Col. José D. Sena, and made them accessible to Secretary Lansing Bloom of the New Mexico Historical Society.—P.A.F.W.

MRS. INEZ BARNES WESTLAKE

An artist and author of distinction, who specialized in Indian design, Mrs. Inez Barnes Westlake of Albuquerque, was killed in an automobile accident 41 miles north of Hot Springs, N. M., on March 17, 1943. She was returning to Silver City from a visit to her former home in Albuquerque when she lost control of her car which turned over twice. Her body was found in the car, in which she was traveling alone.

Mrs. Westlake was born March 22, 1883, in Brooklyn, N. Y., the daughter of R. P. Barnes, a veteran New Mexico attorney and legislator, who survives her. Early in her life, she came with her parents to Silver City where she resided 30 years, moving to Albuquerque in 1919, and back to Silver City in November, 1942, being employed there by the New Mexico Welfare Department. A graduate of the Silver City Normal School, she held a life teaching certificate, and was completing a course of study for the M.A. degree from the State University. She taught school in New Mexico, Arizona and in Tsientsin, China. Last fall she was a candidate for county school superintendent on the Republican ticket in Bernalillo county. Mrs. Barnes won national recognition as a student of Indian lore and design and published two beautiful volumes of Indian design in color which are accepted as authoritative. She had exhibited in the State Museum and elsewhere. Mural decorations in the Franciscan Hotel and the Kimo theater in Albuquerque were designed by her. Her flower paintings in water color were admired over the state wherever she exhibited.

Mrs. Westlake is survived by Mrs. Willard Holmes, a daughter residing at the U. S. Soil Conservation Service farm near Bernalillo with her husband and children, David, Sharon and Richmond; another daughter, Mrs. Doris Cau-

dill, with her husband and daughter Lynette residing in Claremont, Calif.; and a son, Richmond, who is with the Army Air force in the Middle East. Sisters of Mrs. Westlake are Mrs. Frank R. Coon of Deming; Mrs. Marion P. Walker of Tucson, Ariz., and Mrs. W. F. Ritter, of El Paso, Texas. A brother, Chauncey B. Barnes, is a saw mill operator in northern California.

Burial was in Fairview Cemetery, Albuquerque, where her mother, Mrs. R. P. Barnes, and her grandmother, Mrs. Harriet Burt, have their last resting place.—P.A.F.W.

EVON Z. VOGT

Evon Z. Vogt, supervisor of Navajo Indians in the Ramah district and former Gallup newspaper publisher, died January 26 at the Zuñi Indian Hospital at Blackrock of a heart ailment.

Mr. Vogt, 62, disposed of the Gallup *Gazette* last August to take the position with the Indian Service. A graduate of the University of Chicago, he came to New Mexico in 1906 and became widely known as a stockman and mining man.

He began newspaper work about twenty years ago as editor and manager of the Gallup *Independent*, then a weekly newspaper. Later, he was custodian at El Morro National Monument for several years.

His widow, three daughters and a son survive him.—*Albuquerque Morning Journal*, Jan. 26, '43.

THOMAS P. GABLE

Thomas P. Gable, one of New Mexico's most widely known pioneers, died in his sleep at his Santa Fe home on February 6. On March 12, he would have been 92 years old.

A native of Platte County, Mo., where he was born in 1851, he came to New Mexico from Trinidad, Colo., in 1882 to become manager of the Fred Harvey House at Raton.

For more than half a century he was prominently identified with territorial and state affairs.

In 1886 he was made warden of the penitentiary under

appointment of territorial Gov. Edmund G. Ross. He served in that post during 1886-87, old-time records showed.

He rose to a lieutenant-colonelcy in the New Mexico National Guard and others of his many public posts included that of territory and state game warden; councilman and mayor of Santa Fé; and collector of customs of the port of El Paso.

For nine years he was proprietor of the St. Regis Hotel at El Paso.

Surviving are a daughter, Mrs. Willi Fischer; a granddaughter, Mrs. Claribelle Fischer Walker, of Santa Fé; and a great granddaughter, Will Ann Walker, a sophomore at the University of New Mexico.

Colonel Gable was a charter member of the Cerrillos Masonic lodge and a life member and past exalted ruler of the Santa Fé Elks lodge.—*Albuquerque Morning Journal*, Feb. 7, '43.

GEORGE ST. CLAIR

Dr. George St. Clair, dean emeritus of the College of Fine Arts and professor emeritus of English at the University of New Mexico, died at Elfers, Florida, on February 12, 1943.

Born at Wadley, Georgia, in December, 1880, Dr. St. Clair spent his early years in an orphanage in Charleston, South Carolina. He attended Newberry College from 1896 to 1899 and then traveled westward to graduate from Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington, with the B.A. degree in 1901. Sailing with the first ship load of teachers for the Philippines in that same year, he served as principal and supervisor in provincial schools until 1914 when he accepted a position at the University of the Philippines in the department of English, serving for six years and becoming head of the department. In 1920 he sailed from Manila in company with Vice-Governor Yeater of the Philippines, traveling as far as Spain where he spent the better part of a year. From 1921 to 1923 he studied at the University of California and earned the Ph.D. degree; then came to the

University of New Mexico that same year as assistant professor of English.

During his sixteen years of service at the University of New Mexico, Dr. St. Clair advanced to the headship of his department in 1928, and eight years later became dean of the newly established College of Fine Arts. He acquired an outstanding reputation as a teacher, and after years of directing plays as a hobby, saw this activity firmly embedded in the University curricula when the department of Dramatic Art was established in 1936.

In addition to a full load of teaching and extra time devoted to coaching plays, Dr. Saint Clair found time to write. While in the Philippines he wrote and produced several plays and translated Spanish poems. At New Mexico he wrote and produced *The Star of Madrid* and *A Pair of Shoes*; published an autobiography in poetic form entitled *Young Heart*, and published locally *A Mint of Phrases*. He made critical studies of Thomas Hardy and E. A. Robinson, and published *Dante Viewed through His Imagery*. His most important contribution, however, was as a teacher. Known affectionately as "Saint" to many, many students and friends, he left a deep impress upon them with his personality and fine character. When asked about his teaching ability, he replied, "See my students"; and that is his best epitaph.

He lies buried at Newport Richey, Florida, having enjoyed less than four years of life and only moderate health after retiring in 1939.—FRANK D. REEVE.

FLORENCIA MONTOYA

Mrs. Florencia Montoya, widow of the late Congressman Nestor Montoya, died February 12 in Los Angeles where she had been visiting her sons. She was 82 years of age.

Congressman Montoya, widely known political figure in New Mexico, died in 1923 while serving the second year of his term at Washington. He had been a member of the state constitutional convention in 1910.

Since his death Mrs. Montoya had resided with her daughter here, Mrs. E. J. Gutierrez, but left last November to visit her sons in Los Angeles.

She is survived by three sons, Nestor Jr., Theodore and Poul, all of Los Angeles; two daughters, Mrs. Gutierrez of Albuquerque and Mrs. Frances Talley, Washington, D. C., and by ten grandchildren and one great grandchild.—*Albuquerque Morning Journal*, Feb. 13, '43.

PETER CAMERON

Peter Cameron died February 12, after a 55-year residence in Albuquerque. He had retired five years ago as president of the Albuquerque Foundry and Machine Works.

Death came after illness of almost a year.

His widow, a son, S. J. Cameron of Detroit, and three daughters survive. The daughters are Mrs. Eleanor Fairchild, Albuquerque teacher, Mrs. Dorothy Chess of San Marino, Cal., and Mrs. Lillian Fleming of Cheyenne, Wyo.

Mr. Cameron was active in Masonic circles. He was first master of the Albuquerque Lodge No. 60, A. F. and A. M.; was a 33rd degree Scottish Rite Mason; and had held many other prominent positions in the organization.—*Albuquerque Morning Journal*, Feb. 13, '43.

The Historical Society of New Mexico

(INCORPORATED)

Organized December 26, 1859

PAST PRESIDENTS

1859 — COL. JOHN B. GRAYSON, U. S. A.

1861 — MAJ. JAMES L. DONALDSON, U. S. A.

1863 — HON. KIRBY BENEDICT

adjourned sine die, Sept. 23, 1863

re-established Dec. 27, 1880

1881 — HON. WILLIAM G. RITCH

1883 — HON. L. BRADFORD PRINCE

1923 — HON. FRANK W. CLANCY

1925 — COL. RALPH E. TWITCHELL

1926 — PAUL A. F. WALTER

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THEODOSIUS MEYER, O. F. M.

FRANK D. REEVE

FRANCE V. SCHOLES

ALFRED B. THOMAS

PAUL A. F. WALTER

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO
(As amended Nov. 25, 1941)

Article 1. *Name.* This Society shall be called the Historical Society of New Mexico.

Article 2. *Objects and Operation.* The objects of the Society shall be, in general, the promotion of historical studies; and in particular, the discovery, collection, preservation, and publication of historical material, especially such as relates to New Mexico.

Article 3. *Membership.* The Society shall consist of Members, Fellows, Life Members and Honorary Life Members.

(a) *Members.* Persons recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society may become members.

(b) *Fellows.* Members who show, by published work, special aptitude for historical investigation may become Fellows. Immediately following the adoption of this Constitution, the Executive Council shall elect five Fellows, and the body thus created may thereafter elect additional Fellows on the nomination of the Executive Council. The number of Fellows shall never exceed twenty-five.

(c) *Life Members.* In addition to life members of the Historical Society of New Mexico at the date of the adoption hereof, such other benefactors of the Society as shall pay into its treasury at one time the sum of fifty dollars, or shall present to the Society an equivalent in books, manuscripts, portraits, or other acceptable material of an historic nature, may upon recommendation by the Executive Council and election by the Society, be classed as Life Members.

(d) *Honorary Life Members.* Persons who have rendered eminent service to New Mexico and others who have, by published work, contributed to the historical literature of New Mexico or the Southwest, may become Honorary Life Members upon being recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society.

Article 4. *Officers.* The elective officers of the Society shall be a president, a vice-president, a corresponding secretary, a treasurer, and a recording secretary; and these five officers shall constitute the *Executive Council* with full administrative powers.

Officers shall qualify on January 1st following their election, and shall hold office for the term of two years and until their successors shall have been elected and qualified.

Article 5. *Elections.* At the October meeting of each odd-numbered year, a nominating committee shall be named by the president of the Society and such committee shall make its report to the Society at the November meeting. Nominations may be made from the floor and the Society shall, in open meeting, proceed to elect its officers by ballot, those nominees receiving a majority of the votes cast for the respective offices to be declared elected.

Article 6. *Dues.* Dues shall be \$3.00 for each calendar year, and shall entitle members to receive bulletins as published and also the *Historical Review*.

Article 7. *Publications.* All publications of the Society and the selection and editing of matter for publication shall be under the direction and control of the Executive Council.

Article 8. *Meetings.* Monthly meetings of the Society shall be held at the rooms of the Society on the third Tuesday of each month at eight P. M. The Executive Council shall meet at any time upon call of the President or of three of its members.

Article 9. *Quorums.* Seven members of the Society and three members of the Executive Council, shall constitute quorums.

Article 10. *Amendments.* Amendments to this constitution shall become operative after being recommended by the Executive Council and approved by two-thirds of the members present and voting at any regular monthly meeting; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given at a regular meeting of the Society, at least four weeks prior to the meeting when such proposed amendment is passed upon by the Society.

Students and friends of Southwestern History are cordially invited to become members. Applications should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Lansing B. Bloom, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

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No. 3



PALACE OF THE GOVERNORS

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY
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AND
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NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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LANSING B. BLOOM

Managing Editor
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THEODOSIUS MEYER, O. F. M.

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Subscription to the quarterly is \$3.00 a year in advance; single numbers (except Vol. I, 1-4, and II, 1) may be had at \$1.00 each. Volumes II-XVII can be supplied at \$4.00 each; Vols. I-II are out of print in part.

Address business communications to Mr. P. A. F. Walter, State Museum, Santa Fe, N. M.; manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be addressed to Mr. Bloom at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XVIII

JULY, 1943

No. 3

NEW MEXICO AND THE SECTIONAL CONTROVERSY, 1846-1861

By LOOMIS MORTON GANAWAY

CHAPTER III

INTERNAL POLITICS OF NEW MEXICO, 1846-1857

AS ONE PHASE of the American operations during the Mexican War, Brigadier General Stephen Watts Kearny led an expedition, called the Army of the West, from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fé. As he entered New Mexico by way of Bent's Fort, he issued the following proclamation, which was distributed as the army advanced into the territory:

The undersigned enters New Mexico with a large military force, for the purpose of seeking union with and ameliorating the condition of its inhabitants. This he does under instructions from his government, and with the assurance that he will be amply sustained in the accomplishment of this object. It is enjoined on the citizens of New Mexico to remain quietly at their homes, and pursue their peaceful avocations. So long as they continue in such pursuits, they will be respected and protected in their rights, both civil and religious. All who take up arms or encourage resistance against the government of the United States will be regarded as enemies, and will be treated accordingly.¹

1. *House Exec. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 60, pp. 170-171.

This was indeed a momentous declaration, foreshadowing a change in the political, social, and economic practices of a people whose culture had been mainly Latin for two and a half centuries.

Upon his arrival at Santa Fé, General Kearny issued another manifesto to the inhabitants. He again enjoined them against acts of violence, which, he said, would be futile and costly. Under American rule, they were assured of "a free government, with the least possible delay, similar to those in the United States."² Although the religious and military leaders of the natives had told them that American occupation would mean the destruction of their religious institutions, traditionally of the Roman Catholic Church, General Kearny promised that his army would respect their beliefs. Likewise, he gave assurances of protection from the savage Indians of that region. In his next statement, which later brought a repudiation from President Polk,³ General Kearny declared:

The United States hereby absolves all persons residing within the boundaries of New Mexico from any further allegiance to the republic of Mexico, and hereby claims them as citizens of the United States. Those who remain quiet and peaceable, will be considered good citizens and receive protection—those who are found in arms, or instigating others against the United States, will be considered traitors, and treated accordingly.⁴

From the viewpoint of New England anti-slavery leaders, General Kearny's most significant pledge to the Mexicans was that which assured them a "free government." Spokesmen for the New England group in congress and elsewhere declared that such assurances could mean only freedom from slavery. During the heated debates involving the political status of New Mexico at the time of the compromise proposals in 1850, Kearny's words were often quoted.

2. *Ibid.*, 170-171.

3. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, IV, 507.

4. *House Exec. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 60, pp. 170-171.

Shortly after his occupation of Santa Fé, General Kearny appointed Colonel Alexander Doniphan, a member of his staff, to frame a plan of civil government for New Mexico.⁵ Scarcely a month later, the general was ready to announce a code of laws as prepared by Colonel Doniphan.⁶ At the time of their promulgation, he explained:

These laws are taken, part from the laws of Mexico,—retained as in the original—a part with such modifications as our laws and constitution made necessary; a part from the laws of Missouri territory; a part from the laws of Texas and also of Texas and Coahuila, a part from the statutes of Missouri; and the remainder from the Livingston Code. The organic law is taken from the organic law of Missouri territory.⁷

Simultaneously, he appointed territorial officials: governor, Charles Bent; secretary, Donaciano Vigil; marshal, Richard Dallam; United States attorney, Francis P. Blair, Jr.; treasurer, Charles Blumner; auditor, Eugene Leitensdorfer; judges of the territorial supreme court, Joab Houghton, Antonio José Otero, and Charles Beaubien.⁸

Shortly thereafter, General Kearny and a part of his command left for California, Colonel Doniphan remaining in charge of the military affairs at Santa Fé. At Colonel Doniphan's departure for Mexico in December, 1846, he was replaced by Colonel Sterling Price. Meanwhile, officials had assumed their positions under the so-called Kearny *Code*, and a *quasi*-civil government had begun operation. Civil authority was notably weakened following the assassination of Governor Bent by disaffected natives, in January of the following year.⁹ Although Vigil was named acting governor by Colonel Price, the military assumed a more direct control of civil affairs, retaining its direction without serious inter-

5. *Ibid.*, 176.

6. *Ibid.*, 177-229.

7. *Ibid.*, 176.

8. *Idem.*

9. Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The History of the Military Occupation of the Territory of New Mexico from 1846 to 1851* (Denver, 1909), 124 ff.

ference until the establishment of territorial government by act of congress.

However, in compliance with the organic law, and with the approval of Colonel Price, an election was called for a territorial legislature late in 1847.¹⁰ According to a contemporary account, no great excitement or interest was manifested in the election, for the reason that the Anglo-American residents did not believe that real civil authority could exist in a government dominated by the military; and the natives, unfamiliar with a form of government in which many of them participated, were equally indifferent.¹¹

Notwithstanding the apathy of a considerable part of the population toward the election, a legislative assembly met at Santa Fé on December 6, 1847. No Anglo-Americans were elected to the council, or upper house of seven members. In the lower house of twenty-one members, four were Anglo-Americans, including the speaker, W. Z. Angney.¹² In its importance to this study, the most relevant of the ten acts or resolutions passed by the assembly and approved by the military commander was that which authorized a convention of the people, to be held the following February.¹³ It was proposed that at this convention, the delegates should make known their preferences on issues involving New Mexico's relations with the Union.¹⁴

A delay in calling this convention until October, 1848, was the result largely of activity by Anglo-Americans who had come to New Mexico at the time of the occupation of the country by General Kearny, or shortly thereafter. They maintained that so long as military government prevailed, public sentiment would be disregarded. Because they expected that the military authority would cease functioning after the signing of a treaty with Mexico, a few of those

10. *Ibid.*, 151.

11. Hubert Howe Bancroft, collector, Scraps, 113 volumes in 121 parts (Bancroft Library, University of California), vol. 96, p. 24.

12. William G. Ritch, *The Legislative Blue Book of the Territory of New Mexico* . . . (Santa Fé, 1882), 98-99.

13. *Laws of the Territory of New Mexico. Passed by the Legislative Assembly, Session of December, 1847.*

14. *Idem.*

who advocated postponement acted on high principles. More of them, however, were governed by their own selfish political aspirations, fostered by the opportunities inherent in an expanding frontier society.

What appears to have been a general opinion among that group of Anglo-Americans seeking the elimination of the military found expression in a letter by James Quinn of Santa Fé to the secretary of state, James Buchanan:

The American residents regard with intense disapproval the continued presence of the military in the civil of N. M. The war is over. . . . There are numerous citizens, native and American who can run affairs here. The army officers recognize no authority but their own. . . . It would be useless to attempt a free convention of the people while we live under military subjugation. We are fully capable of directing the government, but we are powerless.¹⁵

If the American residents deprecated military domination of local affairs, Price, recently elevated to the rank of brigadier general, encouraged, with reservations, civil government. Whatever may have been his conviction concerning the wisdom of a convention of the nature proposed by the legislature, he issued an address to the delegates. After reiterating the guarantees made by General Kearny for personal, political, and religious rights, he continued:

. . . I express the hope that, in view of your serious and important duties, the deliberations of the convention will be conducted with the strictest propriety and decorum; and though the right freely and properly to express opinions should not be restricted, yet I desire all clearly to understand that seditious and indecorous language against the constituted military or civil authorities, calculated to inflame or excite the people against the government, my desire for the peace and welfare of the Territory will induce me immediately to notice.

15. James Quinn to James Buchanan, Santa Fé, August 20, 1848, N. A., Miscellaneous unbound State Department Files.

The utterers of such language will be held responsible and called to a strict account.¹⁶

Contemporary accounts fail to clarify the manner by which the delegates were selected to this momentous meeting. Neither is it clear how many attended the session, which continued for four days, beginning on October 10, 1848. According to Spruce M. Baird, a Texan agent, who was in New Mexico during the following year,

... The members elect to this convention convened from the different neighborhoods. Discord grew up among them from what cause I am not well advised and over one third withdrew. Principally if not entirely Mexicans. Consequently there was not a quorum according to ordinary parliamentary rules remaining.¹⁷

After completing the organization of the convention, the president, Antonio José Martínez, delegated James Quinn, Donaciano Vigil, Juan Perea, and Francisco Sarracino to formulate a memorial to congress.¹⁸

This document to which the names of thirteen men were attached, three of whom were Anglo-Americans, stated:

We, the people of New Mexico, respectfully petition Congress for the speedy organization of a territorial civil government.

We respectfully petition Congress to establish a government purely civil in its character.

We respectfully represent that the organic and statute law promulgated under military orders of September 22, 1846, with some alterations would be acceptable.

We desire that the following offices be filled

16. Twitchell, *Military Occupation*, 153.

17. Binkley, ed., "Reports from a Texan Agent in New Mexico, 1849," *New Spain and the West*, II, 167.

In view of provisions in the Kearny Code and of election procedure which had become well established since Mexican Independence (namely, by primary and secondary elections and an "electoral college"), it is probably safe to assume that this special election was similar to regular elections. *Vide* L. B. Bloom, "New Mexico under Mexican Administration, 1821-1846," in *Old Santa Fé*, I-II (1913-15), *passim*. —Editor.

18. Ritch, *The Legislative Blue Book*, 99-100.

by appointment of the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, the Governor, Secretary of State, Judges, United States Attorney and United States Marshal.

We desire to have all the usual rights of appeal from the courts of the territory to the Supreme Court of the United States.

We respectfully but firmly protest against the dismemberment of our territory in favor of Texas or from any cause.

We do not desire to have domestic slavery within our borders; and, until the time shall arrive for admission into the union of states, we desire to be protected by Congress against the introduction of slaves into the territory.

We desire a local legislature, such as is prescribed by the laws of New Mexico, September 22, 1846, subject to the usual veto of Congress.

Considering that New Mexico has a population of from 75,000 to 100,000, we believe our request to be reasonable, and we confidently rely upon Congress to provide New Mexico with laws as liberal as those enjoyed by any of the territories.¹⁹

As a commentary on the anti-slavery resolution, a letter by Baird, the Texan agent, to an official of that state explained the motive for its inclusion in the memorial:

... In this state of exasperation and disappointment they [a part of the delegates having withdrawn] hatched the anti-slavery resolution or memorial presented by Senator Benton which caused some sharp shooting and was laid aside as being nothing but a resolution or memorial emanating from twelve men authorized to act for no one but themselves. Such were the objections argued against it I believe by Senator Foot and such you will see was its true character. This anti-slavery resolution did not emanate from the people. They knew and I think cared very little about it. It was only gotten up to give their application for a territorial govern-

19. Petition to Congress of the people of New Mexico by representatives in convention assembled. N. A., State Department Records, Territorial Papers, New Mexico, I.

ment a zest with the abolitionists having no hope in any other quarter.²⁰

Prior to the October memorial, no political parties based on divergent conceptions of democratic government emerged in New Mexico. Instead two factions developed, one in support of military government and the other, in opposition to it. Favoring the military were the officeholders, from the highest ranking civil officials to the lowest alcalde, all of whom owed their posts to the military establishment. Opposed to them were those Americans and natives who resented and resisted the continued military interference in the civil government. Under such conditions the military faction identified itself with a territorial movement, for under this plan, its officials would be retained, and the profits from military expenditures would not be modified.

Having petitioned congress for a territorial form of government, the leaders in that party deemed it expedient to call another convention for the purpose of formulating a constitution. Under the leadership of Angney, who had recently been to St. Louis, where he boasted of having been advised by Senator Benton, the convention met at Santa Fé on September 24, 1849.²¹ Aiding Angney were James Quinn, one of the three Americans who had signed the October memorial, and Judge Joab Houghton of the territorial court. Nineteen men from the seven counties answered the first roll call. Besides Quinn, two others who had signed the petition participated at this meeting. At the second session, and prior to the adoption of a constitution, the delegates chose Hugh N. Smith "to represent the interests of this territory in the Congress of the United States."²²

At the same session, Martínez, again named president, appointed Angney, Joseph Nangle, William S. Skinner,

20. Binkley, ed., "Reports from a Texan Agent in New Mexico, 1849," *New Spain and the West*, II, 167.

21. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 269.

22. *Journal of New Mexico Convention of Delegates to Recommend a Plan of Civil Government, September, 1849*, 7.

Tomás Baca, and Antonio José Otero "to report the basis of a constitution for the government of the territory, and instructions for the consideration of the delegate to Congress."²³ At the final session, the members of the constitutional committee submitted majority and minority reports.

The majority approved of no other form of government for New Mexico except the territorial. The minority, although favoring a territorial government, proposed that should "a territorial government be not feasible, but that of a state government be practicable," Smith should accept it, and proceed with its organization.²⁴ However, when the state proposal was presented to the convention, it was rejected.

In formulating a plan of territorial government, the delegates avoided all reference to slavery and defined the eastern boundary of New Mexico as the "state of Texas." By thus avoiding two controversial issues, the September convention was attempting to prevent hostility to its petition from southern congressmen. In this action, they may have been so advised by Senator Benton. Although the terms "slavery" and "negro" did not appear in the document, the rights of suffrage and of holding office were

to be exercised only by the citizens of the United States, and all those free white male inhabitants residing within the limits of New Mexico, not already citizens of the United States, but who, on the 2d day of February, 1848, were residents of the territory of New Mexico.²⁵

This reference to "free white male inhabitants" caused Representative Wilmot and others in congress to assert that slavery was thus recognized by implication.²⁶ What further

23. *Idem.* Smith, according to Spruce M. Baird, had aroused "hot opposition" at Santa Fé during the October convention by his support of Texan claims to a part of New Mexico. Either Baird was inaccurate or Smith had reversed his position, for shortly after the Santa Fé meeting in 1849, Smith went to Washington, where he opposed all Texan claims and came under the influence of anti-slavery men.

24. *Ibid.*, 18.

25. *Ibid.*, 17.

26. *Congressional Globe*, 29 Cong., 2 Sess., Appendix, 314.

aroused comment from Wilmot was the convention's instructions to Smith that he insure "the compliance with contracts between master and servant."²⁷

Accompanying the proposed plan of government was a declaration which complained that the people had been governed for three years under a system that was "undefined and doubtful in its character, inefficient to protect the rights of the people, or to discharge the high and absolute duty of every government."²⁸ To this, Henry Clay later made reference, in his insistence that New Mexico be granted civil government.²⁹

Spruce M. Baird, again recounting the course of events in New Mexico, found little to recommend in this or other "*Territorial Movements* as they [New Mexicans] style them in a more grave style." In his opinion, New Mexico politicians could scarcely be accused of possessing much ability:

Such a medley does not exist any where else upon the top of the globe. The country municipally, is more comparable to a split box or lumber chest into which old broken ware is cast, than any thing else. . . . I think the lamentation of the New Mexican Jeremiahs over the military government is a little out of tune as sounded in their resolution. Although bad it is better than they have been used to and I doubt seriously if they know how to appreciate any thing better. There is not one of them attached to the United States by a love of liberty and admiration of her institutions. Dogged fear attaches them. Yet such people would dismember our state [Texas] and turn the heads of all the abolitionists of the north against us. Such a people would be elevated and promoted by being placed in the position of southern slaves, for they are dishonest and false to a proverb.³⁰

That Smith's efforts in Washington were ineffectual were attributed largely to the conviction of President Taylor

27. *Idem*.

28. *Journal of New Mexico Convention* . . . 1849, pp. 20-21.

29. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 119-120.

30. Binkley, ed., "Reports from a Texan Agent in New Mexico, 1849," *New Spain and the West*, II, 180.

that statehood was the proper solution to the perplexing status of New Mexico.³¹ In order to foster a movement in that direction, which heretofore had been almost non-existent, the president reputedly sent James S. Calhoun of Georgia to Santa Fé in July, 1849. His nominal assignment was that of Indian agent, but following his arrival in the territory, rumors were current that he was a secret emissary of Taylor.³² According to a government official at Santa Fé in 1853, Calhoun had gone so far as to declare "that he had secret instructions from the government at Washington to induce the people to form a state government."³³ If such were his instructions, any immediate plans that he may have had were thwarted by the activity of the territorial party, which had already chosen delegates for its September convention.

Calhoun's efforts may have been directed to the selection of a local politician who would be better situated than he would be, in arousing interest for statehood. In Richard H. Weightman, a retired army officer, the necessary leadership was apparent.³⁴ During the winter of 1849-1850, Weightman gathered about him a nucleus of followers, some of whom were among the most prominent men in New Mexico. No man during this period of New Mexico history was as ambitious for political preferment as Weightman, a political opportunist. During the years from 1849 until 1854, as a political leader in New Mexico, his conduct showed him not incapable of chicanery. He was steadfast only in his ambition; loyalty to friends was apparently not one of his virtues. Capable of seizing advantages which the confused internal character of the territory afforded him, Weightman was able to direct the course of events in a marked degree to his own advancement.

With the rise of a statehood party, in opposition to the firmly established territorial party, political excitement ran

31. Davis, *El Gringo*, 111-112.

32. Abel, ed., *Calhoun's Correspondence*, preface.

33. *Idem*.

34. Twitchell, *Military Occupation*, 381-394, presents a brief biographical sketch of Weightman.

high. Each faction solicited the support of prominent natives with promises of political reward. The territorial party gained possession of a printing press and issued tracts and broadsides attacking Weightman and his allies. Fist-fights were not uncommon in Santa Fé, and similar acts of violence occurred elsewhere. To increase the disorder, Indians renewed attacks upon the settlements and murdered travelers almost within sight of Santa Fé. The winter was marked by the lowest temperatures in a decade, which added to the tension. Food was scarce, and complaints were registered against even the amount and quality of the local liquor supply. Rumors of revolt among Mexicans kept military officials on the alert. Such was Santa Fé as noted by a young army officer during the winter of 1849-1850.³⁵

If the motives for the presence of Calhoun at Santa Fé were obscure, President Taylor made no secret of his purpose in sending Lieutenant Colonel George A. McCall to New Mexico in the spring of 1850. In a letter of instructions from Secretary of War George W. Crawford, McCall was informed that since the occupation of New Mexico, the responsibility of civil government had depended largely on army officers, an activity that was ordinarily "beyond their appropriate spheres of action."³⁶ In concluding his instructions to McCall, Secretary Crawford said:

The constitution of the United States and the late treaty with Mexico guarantee their [New Mexico] admission in the union of our states, subject only to the judgment of congress. Should the people of New Mexico wish to take any steps toward this object . . . it will be your duty and the duty of others with whom you are associated not to thwart but to advance their wishes. It is their right to appear before congress and ask for admission into the union.³⁷

35. Lieutenant J. H. Whittlesey to Lieutenant M. Laws, Santa Fé, January 10, 1850, N. A., War Department Records, Ninth Military Department, File Documents.

36. George W. Crawford to Brevet Lieutenant Colonel George A. McCall, Washington, November 19, 1849, George A. McCall Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

37. *Idem.*

McCall arrived in Santa Fé on March 21, 1850, and according to his own account, lost no time in making himself known to the leaders of both political factions.³⁸ In a report to Colonel N. W. Bliss about three weeks later, McCall wrote:

Arriving here, I found politics the rage, engrossing the attention of all classes of people; the territorial party high in the ascendant—the state party down. The latter had lost the printing press, & the former had got possession of it. Indeed the State party which from all accounts possessed no influence beyond the precincts of the town, evidently exercised so little within those limits that to a mere looker-on, who from sympathy alone felt any solicitude to see N. Mexico present herself for admission into the Union as a state, the prospect would have seemed less indeed.³⁹

Weightman and his associates in the state party had reason to expect the support of McCall in advancing their political program, because they represented a cause to which his attention was directed by the federal authorities. After surveying the local situation, however, McCall concluded that the only possibility of succeeding in his mission was by his working with the stronger territorial faction.⁴⁰

After a series of interviews with leaders in this group, especially with Judge Houghton, McCall gave President Taylor's reasons for favoring statehood, and suggested to this group that it adopt the national administration's program for New Mexico. President Taylor, he told Houghton, wished to see statehood established in order to settle the slavery question in New Mexico and the New Mexico-Texas boundary dispute.⁴¹ As a means of creating political harmony, McCall proposed a compromise with the Weightman party, declaring that should Houghton and his

38. McCall, *Letters from the Frontiers*, 492.

39. George A. McCall to N. W. Bliss, Santa Fé, April 15, 1850, McCall Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

40. *Idem*.

41. *Idem*.

adherents continue their efforts for a territory, they were doomed to failure.⁴² Supporting him in his proposition to the territorial leaders were the military, who were traditionally friendly with them. Thus, after three weeks of negotiations, McCall wrote an official in Washington that the territorial party had "yielded so far as to express a willingness to compromise with the other [state]; *in fact to unite with them, on certain conditions, & establish state gov'n't.*"⁴³

With what reservations Houghton was willing to accept McCall's proposition was not specified. However, McCall completely distrusted Weightman, even to the extent of believing him to be in a secret conspiracy with Texan agents.⁴⁴ McCall said as much to an official in Washington, in repeating a rumor, current in Santa Fé that Weightman had agreed to acknowledge Texan claims to a part of New Mexico in return for Texan support to the state party. This same accusation was reiterated at a later date by James L. Collins, a member of the territorial party and Weightman's bitterest political enemy in New Mexico.⁴⁵

In reporting his failure to procure a coalition of the two factions, McCall attributed it to the Weightman party's "imprudently assuming too high a tone & showing too little spirit of conciliation."⁴⁶ Determined to act without the cooperation of Weightman, the Houghton or new state party proceeded independently. In reporting this and ensuing events, McCall wrote:

they [Houghton party] held some private meetings, decided on the *ticket* they would run; & issued in Spanish their address to the people. Their superior numbers and influence with the Mexicans would it was evident enable them to carry it their

42. *Idem.*

43. *Idem.*

44. McCall to Bliss, Santa Fé, May 21, 1850, McCall Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

45. James L. Collins, *Reply to Certain Slandorous Statements by R. H. Weightman; with an exposé of the Duplicity of that Gentleman's course in Relation to New Mexico* (Santa Fé, 1852).

46. McCall to Bliss, May 21, 1850, McCall Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

own way. This course brought the original state party to consider the matter more seriously & a move was made by them to unite with the other party on condition, that their leader (Major Weightman) be put upon the ticket for U. S. Senator. This was positively rejected. At this crisis (Apr. 7th) the commissioner of Texas Maj. N [ighbors] arrived here.⁴⁷

Robert Neighbors, sent by the Texan state government to Santa Fé in order to hold county elections in that region, found this part of New Mexico in the midst of the factional quarrel. Shortly after his arrival, he protested to the commanding officer of the military department, Colonel John Munroe, against the officer's seeming denial of Texan claims by having called for an election of delegates to a constitutional convention.⁴⁸ Neighbors called to Munroe's attention that section of the constitution which prohibits the creation of a state within a state without the consent of the state forfeiting its sovereignty. While Neighbors was thus engaged with Colonel Munroe, Judge Houghton advised the inhabitants to disregard all activities promoted by Neighbors, and recommended that the people hold meetings of protest to any Texan claims.⁴⁹ Recognizing the hostility that his presence at Santa Fé created, Neighbors left the territory.

The constitutional convention of New Mexico against which Neighbors protested was approved by Colonel Munroe, after a petition had been submitted to him by Judge Houghton "requesting the governor of the Territory to call a convention to form a state constitution."⁵⁰ In response to this petition, probably on the advice of McCall, Colonel Munroe issued a proclamation calling for the election of delegates on May 6.⁵¹

47. *Idem.*

48. Robert Neighbors to John Munroe, Santa Fé, April 15, 1850, inclosure in John Munroe to Major General R. Jones, Santa Fé, April 16, 1850, N. A., War Department Records, A. G. O. Files.

49. Davis, *El Gringo*, 110-111.

50. *Sen. Exec. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 56, p. 14.

51. John Munroe to Major General R. Jones, Santa Fé, May 13, 1850, N. A., War Department Records, Ninth Military Department.

As a result of the election that was held on that date, twenty-one delegates assembled at Santa Fé on May 15, 1850. Although a few of them were from the Weightman party, a Houghton majority controlled the convention. At its first session, James Quinn, Houghton's close associate, was elected president. A serious dispute that momentarily threatened to disrupt the meeting developed after Judge Houghton's party protested against the seating of Diego Archuleta as a delegate. Archuleta, Weightman's ally, declared that the protest came not from any irregularity in his election but because of his nativity. A sufficient number of the delegates of Mexican origin from both factions so strenuously supported Archuleta that he was seated.⁵²

For ten days the convention was in session, and during that time framed a state constitution largely the work of Houghton, who wrote most of it himself.⁵³ Weightman was not a delegate, and his activity was noted only in efforts to delay action of the convention. After formulating a state constitution, the convention adopted the following resolution on the subject of slavery:

Slavery in New Mexico is naturally impracticable, and can never, in reality, exist here; wherever it has existed, it has proved a curse and a blight to the State upon which it has been inflicted—a moral, social, and political evil. The only manner in which this question now affects us is politically; and on grounds of this character, with its general evil tendencies, we have unanimously agreed to reject it—if forever.⁵⁴

Concerning Texan claims, the convention denied any title of that state to any part of New Mexico.

Judge Houghton wrote the slavery resolution. A native of New York, he presumably reflected the opinion of that state by insisting on the anti-slavery clause. This

52. McCall to Bliss, Santa Fé, May 21, 1850, George A. McCall Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

53. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 272.

54. *Constitution of the State of New Mexico*, N. A., State Department Records, Miscellaneous Letters for June, 1850.

conviction he maintained throughout the next decade, and at the beginning of the Civil War he assumed a leading position in rallying federal support in the territory. In approving an election for June 20, to vote on the proposed constitution, Colonel Munroe likewise sanctioned a state election of officials, contingent upon the adoption of the state organic act.⁵⁵

Weightman was the first man to announce his candidacy for a United States senatorship, and with this announcement he stated that a full ticket would be named by his party. As finally slated, the Weightman ticket nominated: governor, Tomás Cabeza de Baca, a popular native of the territory; lieutenant governor, Manuel Álvarez, who had been a Santa Fé trader from 1824 and for some years U. S. consul at Santa Fé but who, in the opinion of Colonel McCall, was a political adventurer; for representative in congress, William S. Messervy, formerly of Massachusetts, and a prominent business man in the territory. The Houghton candidates were: for governor, Henry Connelly, who in McCall's opinion was the most capable man in New Mexico; for lieutenant governor, Ceran St. Vrain, a French-Canadian trader, who had been in New Mexico for twenty-five years; for representative in congress, Hugh N. Smith, who was in Washington during the election, preparing an anti-slavery pamphlet.⁵⁶

The campaign was brief but exciting. The Weightman faction attacked the opposition as the Anglo-American party and used as its slogan, "The people against the authorities."⁵⁷ Weightman, in an appeal to the native vote, showed greater political astuteness than his opponents. By persuasive argument, he convinced the Catholic leaders that their interests would be protected best by supporting his adher-

55. New Mexico Papers, House of Representatives Files, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress. Copies of the constitution and of Munroe's proclamation, dated May 28, 1850, are in the collections of the Huntington Library and the Historical Society in Santa Fé.

56. *Idem*.

57. George McCall to Major General Bliss, Santa Fé, July 16, 1850, George A. McCall Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

ents. The military, he declared, was aligned with the opposition, bent upon instituting even greater restrictions on the freedom of the natives.⁵⁸ With an excellent command of the Spanish language, Weightman soon demonstrated his power over the native vote.

Much interest was attached to the election of the state legislature, which would in turn select the two United States senators. In addition to Weightman, Francis A. Cunningham, a lawyer at Santa Fé, was selected to run on the same ticket. For the opposition, Judge Houghton and Captain A. W. Raynolds were the candidates.

The election marked no clear victory for either party. Connelly and St. Vrain were elected from the Houghton party and Messervy to the representative's seat. In the state legislature, the Weightman candidates won an overwhelming victory, and at the first session of that body in July, 1850, Weightman and Cunningham were named the senators from New Mexico. Both parties having favored the adoption of the constitution, 6,771 votes were cast for it and only 39 against.⁵⁹

Shortly after his election, Weightman, as senator-elect, started to Washington. By the most rapid post, the journey necessitated six weeks. Most travelers, however, took two months for the trip. Weightman reached his destination only a few days after congress had passed the territorial act for New Mexico. He did not relinquish his efforts to gain statehood, however, but immediately addressed to the senate a written communication accompanied by the New Mexico constitution. With reference to the anti-slavery clause in the memorial, he said:

The whole number of votes against the constitution was thirty-nine, included in which number is any *per se* pro-slavery party which may exist in New Mexico. I say *per se* pro-slavery party for there was a clause in the constitution, SOLELY *as a*

58. *Idem.*

59. Official returns of the votes for state officers for State of New Mexico, House of Representatives Files, 31 Congress, Box 19.

*measure of policy, to facilitate the admission of New Mexico into the Union with California. Another fraction of the same party was in favor of the policy of Senator Foote—and this, too, as a measure of policy only.*⁶⁰

In a communication at a later date to Senator Foote of Mississippi, who had requested information on the attitude of the people of New Mexico concerning slavery, Weightman said:

The popular feeling is, I believe, fixedly set against that country being made the arena in which to decide political questions in which the people have no practical interest, and all attempts which have heretofore been made, or which hereafter may be made, to induce the people of that country *to take sides* on a question in which they are not at all interested, have been, and will, I trust, forever be utterly abortive.⁶¹

He called to the attention of the senator the recent census of New Mexico, which showed a total negro population of seventeen, five or six of whom were probably slaves, the property of army officers or travelers. He further stated that no great excitement was felt in New Mexico concerning the anti-slavery resolution, because the people were not well informed about that institution. During the recent campaign, he added, an abolitionist newspaper at Santa Fé had repeatedly charged him with being a slavery propagandist, but such accusations had not succeeded in making slavery an issue in the campaign.

In his communication to Senator Foote, Weightman had alluded to the *Santa Fé Weekly Gazette* as an abolitionist newspaper.⁶² Its editor, William G. Kephart had come to New Mexico first as a Presbyterian missionary and an agent

60. *Communication of R. H. Weightman, and accompanying memorial of the legislature of New Mexico, setting forth sundry grievances and calling upon Congress for their correction* (Washington, 1850).

61. *Congressional Globe*, 32 Cong., 1 Sess., 755.

62. During the period from 1850 until 1861, the *Santa Fé Weekly Gazette* had a number of editors. It was known at intervals as the *Santa Fé Gazette*.

of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, probably in December, 1849.⁶³ As a missionary, he met with little success among the devout Catholic population, and soon made efforts to gain control of the *Santa Fé Republican*. With the financial assistance of James L. Collins, a prosperous trader, he became editor of the paper, changing its name to the *Santa Fé Weekly Gazette*.

By his own statement, Kephart brought with him to New Mexico a quantity of abolitionist pamphlets, printed in both Spanish and English.⁶⁴ Some of the material he incorporated in editorials for his newspaper, particularly that dealing with the cultural superiority of the northern states over the southern.

In another account of Kephart's activities at this time, Spruce M. Baird, the former Texan agent who had established permanent residence in New Mexico, described the editor as an agitator who sought to inculcate "his abolition doctrines, of the rankest character" among the natives.⁶⁵

When Weightman returned to Santa Fé from Washington in the winter of 1850, he announced his candidacy for territorial delegate. A. W. Reynolds was selected to oppose him. The *Weekly Gazette*, which supported Reynolds, charged that Weightman was anti-slavery in sentiment while in the territory, and pro-slavery while in Washington.⁶⁶ As in the previous state campaign, the personal character of each candidate was assailed by the opposition. According to the official returns, Weightman defeated Réynolds, who declared that he had been defrauded and, consequently, contested the vote before an election committee of congress. Weightman was sustained and was formally received as New Mexico's first official territorial delegate.

63. Numerous spellings are given to Kephart's name: Kephardt, Keppart, and Gebbart.

64. W. G. Kephart, *The Editor of the Santa Fé Gazette and Major Weightman, or Truth Vindicated* (n.p., 1852).

65. Spruce M. Baird to Jacob Thompson, n.p., n.d., Interior Department Records, Secretary's Office, Appointment Division, Incoming Papers.

66. *Santa Fé Weekly Gazette*, December 7[?], 1850.

At the height of the Weightman-Reynolds controversy, James S. Calhoun, the Indian agent, received his appointment as the first territorial governor of New Mexico. In an address before the territorial legislature, he provoked a violent protest from Kephart and James Collins, when by a reference to free negroes in New Mexico, he said:

Free negroes are regarded as nuisances in every State and Territory in the Union, and where they are tolerated, society is most depraved. I trust the Legislature will pass a law that will prevent their entrance into this Territory. The disgusting degradation to which society is subjected by their presence, is obvious to all, and demands a prohibitory act of the severest nature.⁶⁷

Shortly after this recommendation was made to the territorial legislature, Kephart published a letter in the *Weekly Gazette* signed "one of the Unfortunate," who was identified as a free negro barber at Santa Fé. The editor made a great issue of the plight of the negro and attempted to arouse hostility towards Governor Calhoun. For some reason, the territorial legislature did not act favorably on the governor's recommendation.

Until his departure in May, 1852, for Washington, Governor Calhoun was the subject of a number of memorials and petitions that were sent to President Millard Fillmore.⁶⁸ In the first of these, which was signed by Collins, Houghton, Quinn, Reynolds, and Messervy, his critics concealed any objection to him as a southerner. They alleged that the governor had aligned himself and his friends with the Catholic hierarchy and with wealthy natives against the Anglo-American residents of New Mexico. They accused him, also, of having interfered in territorial politics by employing a military escort for Weightman during the recent contest for delegate, of disfranchising political ene-

67. Address of James S. Calhoun, June 2, 1851, N. A., State Department Records, Territorial Papers, New Mexico.

68. From the Citizens of New Mexico to the President preferring Charges against Governor Calhoun, N. A., State Department Records, Appointment Papers, Applications for Office, James S. Calhoun Papers.

mies, of arousing uneasiness through his advocacy of legislation unfriendly to the Pueblo Indians, and of creating racial hatred among the natives towards the Anglo-American settlers.

Collins may have taken the memorial personally to Washington, for he was received by President Fillmore in April, 1852. On that occasion, he made further written charges against the governor, who he alleged, had misrepresented his achievements in making Indian treaties. Furthermore, he stated that Calhoun had countenanced the sale of Indian captives.⁶⁹ In a third series of charges, Collins stated that Calhoun and Spruce M. Baird had connived to defeat justice by protecting a murderer.⁷⁰

In order to answer personally the charges against his official conduct, Governor Calhoun left Santa Fé in May, 1852, for Washington. Ill before leaving, he died while crossing the plains of Kansas.⁷¹ When it was reported in Santa Fé that Weightman had recommended Baird as a successor to Calhoun, Kephart sarcastically commented in the *Weekly Gazette* that "truly if we are to be emancipated from the overseer's whip of Georgia only to be put under the tender treatment of *Texas*, we have not much to be thankful for."⁷² A few months later, when Weightman was again in New Mexico and was being maligned by the *Weekly Gazette* as a "putrid subject," Kephart made another combined attack upon Weightman and the late governor. Calhoun, he said, was nothing more nor less than "a southern missionary [sent] to see whether there was a possibility of introducing slavery into this Territory, and was as faithful to his mission as the circumstances would allow."⁷³ However, he did not substantiate this accusation.

No less severe than the attacks on Weightman and Cal-

69. James L. Collins to Millard Fillmore, Washington, April 20, 1852, N. A., State Department Records, Appointment Papers, Applications for Office, James S. Calhoun Papers.

70. Collins to Fillmore, Washington, April 24, 1850, same file.

71. Abel, ed., *Calhoun's Correspondence*, preface.

72. Santa Fé *Weekly Gazette*, May 28, 1852.

73. Santa Fé *Weekly Gazette*, January 22, 1853.

houn was that directed by the Houghton party against Grafton Baker, a Mississippi lawyer, named by President Fillmore as the first chief justice of the territorial supreme court. He was highly recommended to the president by Senator Foote, who regarded him as splendidly trained in the legal profession and fully conscious of the dignity of a judgeship.⁷⁴ After reaching Santa Fé in the summer of 1851, Baker took an immediate interest in affairs and made numerous recommendations to officials in Washington respecting local conditions. Among other things he noted the hostility existing between the military and the natives, a situation which he believed "bred the strongest distaste . . . for the United States."⁷⁵

Baker's bringing a negro servant immediately provoked Kephart, who began to censure the judge's official and personal conduct. On one occasion, the *Weekly Gazette* reported Baker's "lying in a state of beastification in one of our lowest doggeries," and again of "going about the streets trying to pick quarrels and get up fights with our citizens."⁷⁶ In his determination to force the recall of Baker, Kephart issued a pamphlet covering the judge's behavior, a copy of which he forwarded to the state department in Washington.⁷⁷

President Fillmore was seriously considering the dismissal of Baker, when the judge arrived in Washington. Collins wrote the president that Baker had come "for the purpose of purchasing slaves to work the mines of New Mexico."⁷⁸ In replying to the indictment against his behavior, he named Messervy, an apostate of the Weightman faction, as the originator of most of the charges. Messervy,

74. Henry S. Foote to Millard Fillmore, Washington, January 26, 1851, N. A., State Department Records, Appointment Papers, Applications for Office, Grafton Baker Papers.

75. Grafton Baker to Daniel Webster, Santa Fé, December 21, 1851, N. A., State Department Records, Miscellaneous Letters.

76. Santa Fé *Weekly Gazette*, November 29, 1851.

77. *Charges against Judge Grafton Baker*, N. A., State Department Records, Appointment Papers, Applications for Office.

78. Collins to Fillmore, Washington, May 31, 1852, N. A., State Department Records, Appointment Papers, Applications for Office.

who at this time was visiting his old home in Boston, came to Washington, where he joined Hugh N. Smith in lodging an unsuccessful protest against continuing Baker in office. Baker was able to convince the president of his satisfactory conduct, and declared that the Houghton party in New Mexico was bent on ridding New Mexico of all southerners. He added that so bitter were Kephart, Collins, and Houghton in their attacks on southern men that they had succeeded in arousing much resentment among southern residents in that territory. He asked to be returned to his post, for, he said, by his failure to do so, his enemies would have achieved an unjust success.⁷⁹

With the induction of President Franklin Pierce into office in 1853, the national administration determined to put an end to the factional quarrels in New Mexico. It was reported that the national administration would regard unfavorably those disgruntled politicians who could find no better use of their time than in filing charges against appointees of the administration. Among the first to profit from such admonition was James L. Collins, eager for a federal appointment. He dismissed Kephart and himself assumed the editorship of the *Weekly Gazette*, taking frequent opportunity to commend the Pierce administration. After his dismissal, Kephart left the territory, and Collins repudiated any connections with abolitionism.⁸⁰ After a few months, Collins, who was not trained for newspaper editing, persuaded W. W. H. Davis, to take the paper. Davis was a democrat from Pennsylvania, who had come to the territory first as a United States attorney. He explained his willingness to edit the paper as a desire "to make the *Gazette* a democratic paper, it having formerly been an abolition journal."⁸¹

The voluntary withdrawal of Weightman from New

79. Grafton Baker to Millard Fillmore, n.d., Washington, N. A., State Department Records, Miscellaneous Letters.

80. W. W. H. Davis to Solicitor of the Treasury, December 12, 1853, N. A., Justice Department Records, Solicitor's Files, Letters Received, New Mexico.

81. W. W. H. Davis to Lewis Cass, Santa Fé, n.d., N. A., State Department Records, Territorial Papers, New Mexico, I.

Mexico politics may have contributed more to dissolving political quarrels than any other occurrence. After one term as delegate, he announced his intention of resuming the practice of law in New Mexico. On August 18, 1854, he engaged in an altercation with Francis X. Aubrey, involving a question of personal integrity. Aubrey attempted to shoot Weightman, who, in defending himself, stabbed his opponent fatally. Although acquitted, Weightman shortly thereafter left New Mexico.⁸²

The period from 1853 until 1857 in New Mexico was marked by an absence of the internal political disorders that had characterized the first years under American sovereignty. Although the negro question was not openly discussed to any appreciable degree in 1856, the territorial legislature passed an act restricting the activities of free negroes, as Governor Calhoun had recommended in his first message to that body.

By its provisions, no free negro could remain in New Mexico for a period exceeding thirty days; marriages between negroes and members of the Caucasian race were prohibited, although such marriages made prior to the passage of the act were not affected; if the owner freed one of his slaves, the negro must leave the territory within a month; all free negroes then resident were required to give bond for their good behavior.⁸³

The adoption of this measure reflected the growing influence of southerners in territorial politics. During the next three or four years, their control was tightened by the alignment of Miguel Otero, territorial delegate from 1855-1861, with southern political leaders and institutions. Under the influence of his allies in the territory, New Mexico, which in 1848 and again in 1850 approved anti-slavery resolutions, so completely reversed its sentiments as to adopt a slave code in 1859.

82. Following his retirement from New Mexico, Weightman lived in Washington, D. C., and in Missouri. During the Civil War, he served as a colonel in the Confederate army under General Sterling Price and was killed in action near Carthage, Missouri.

83. *Laws of the Territory of New Mexico. Passed by the Legislative Assembly, Session of 1856-1857.*

CHAPTER IV

OTERO AND THE NEW MEXICO SLAVE CODE
OF 1859

From 1846 until 1855, native New Mexicans were generally under the political domination of Anglo-Americans, many of whom had not been in the territory a decade. Promises, minor political offices, and occasional bribes were about all the natives received as compensation for their support, the more lucrative federal and territorial posts going to the men from the States. A slight deviation from the general practice followed the election in 1853 of José Manuel Gallegos as territorial delegate. In a contest with William Carr Lane, Gallegos won the delegateship in what was called by Lane's supporters a "stolen election."¹ During his two years in Washington, Gallegos took only a limited interest in national affairs, principally because of his imperfect understanding of the English language.

His successor, Miguel Antonio Otero was handicapped neither by language difficulties nor by unfamiliarity with Anglo-American customs. As a youth of seventeen when General Kearny occupied New Mexico in 1846, Otero resolved to adapt himself to the changing conditions that would inevitably influence New Mexico. During the nine years from that date until his election as territorial delegate, Otero had been acquiring an American education in St. Louis and New York.² Before his return to his native New Mexico, he passed the bar examination of Missouri, and shortly thereafter, joined a caravan to Santa Fé. In New Mexico, Otero announced his candidacy for a place in the territorial legislature from Valencia county, where his father controlled the financial and political interests of that section. Without serious opposition, he was elected for the session of 1852-1853. After that, he held one or two minor political positions

1. Gallegos-Lane Election Contest, House of Representative Files, New Mexico Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

2. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 309-310, note.

through local patronage until he announced his candidacy in 1855 for the delegateship to congress.

Gallegos, with the support of the anti-American element and one faction of the Catholic Church, was again a candidate. Aligned with Otero were many prominent native families, a majority of the Anglo-American residents, and some members of the Catholic hierarchy. According to the official count of votes in the election, Gallegos was again named, but Otero contested the result before a congressional committee on the basis of illegal registration for many of the Gallegos votes, and Otero was seated.³ Although national issues were not involved in the local election, Otero avowed membership in the democratic party and, in Washington, declared allegiance to its principles, support of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and admiration for Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois.⁴ Otero, possessing considerable wealth and "the elegant manners of his Spanish ancestry," rapidly assumed an interesting position in Washington official and social life. During his first term as delegate, he made the acquaintance of Mary Josephine Blackwood of Charleston, South Carolina, whose mother was a member of the Carroll family of Baltimore.⁵ After his marriage to Miss Blackwood, Otero was identified almost exclusively with the social life of southerners in Washington which eventually affected his official interests. Although he had come to Washington with no particular interest in the slavery controversy, after his marriage he was credited with "very pronounced pro-slavery sentiments."⁶

Because of his lack of experience and his position as a delegate rather than as a member of congress, Otero exerted no notable influence in national politics. Through his important political connections among southern members of

3. Otero-Gallegos Election Contest, House of Representatives Files, New Mexico Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

4. Miguel Antonio Otero, *My Life on the Frontier, 1864-1882* (New York, 1935),

3. This autobiography, written by a son of the New Mexico delegate, covers briefly his father's career.

5. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 409-410, note.

6. *Idem*.

congress, New Mexico received some increase in the number of the military and, likewise, of civil offices. He took an active interest in the territorial appointments, and although accused by his enemies of having exerted undue influence in the selection of southerners to those posts,⁷ the appointment papers do not prove this charge against Otero.⁸

Otero's importance in the sectional controversy is not to be found in any contribution that he might have made from a national viewpoint but rather in the control which he exercised as the dominant political figure in New Mexico. When it is recalled that at his retirement in 1861, he was scarcely thirty-two years old, one can more readily appreciate his ability.

The relative ease with which Otero had defeated Gallejos in 1855 did not follow in the campaign of 1857. In that year, Spruce M. Baird, the former Texan agent, who had since 1851 been a resident of New Mexico, announced his candidacy. As a lawyer, he was favorably known throughout the territory, but was handicapped in his political ambitions by his former relations with Texas and by his having held a territorial appointment under the whig administration of Fillmore.⁹ Both facts contributed to Baird's defeat.

The faction supporting Baird called itself the democratic party to distinguish it from the national democratic

7. William Need to Simon Cameron, Fort Fauntleroy, New Mexico, September 27, 1861, N. A., War Department Records, Secretary of War Document File.

8. The largest collection of appointment papers for this period is located in the State Department Records at the National Archives. A considerable number may be found in the Justice Records, also at the Archives.

9. Spruce M. Baird to Jacob Thompson, n.p., n.d., N. A., Interior Department Records, Secretary's Office, Appointment Division, Incoming Papers, 1857-1866.

On Jan. 31, 1851, Commissioner Lea had issued Baird's appointment as "agent for the Indians of N. Mex." He served in the lower chamber of the First Territorial Legislature, June-July, Dec., 1851, being one of the three members from Bernalillo County. In Feb. 1852 Calhoun at Santa Fé appointed him as special agent for the Navajo Indians, to be located at Jemez, where he served until the summer of 1853. He served as attorney for Weightman, who killed Aubry in September 1854, and as "solicitor" for the Pueblo of Acoma vs. Laguna in the first civil case ever tried in the Third Judicial District chamber.

In Dec. 1859, he again represented Bernalillo County, this time in the upper chamber in the Ninth Assembly. This same month he helped to organize the Historical Society of New Mexico, and was named one of its incorporators in February, 1860.

or Otero party.¹⁰ In an illuminating letter to President Buchanan in July, 1857, Thomas H. Hopkins of Tennessee, a post office inspector, reviewed the Otero-Baird contest then in progress. After noting that the democrats were divided into two factions, Hopkins continued:

The first or simply the Democratic party is composed of old Democrats, that never bowed the knee to 'Baal'—the other or National Democrats, composed of old and new Whig, K. N. Americans, free soilers & Abolitionists, & including all the appointees under the Fillmore administration that remain in the Territory—This last or National Democratic Party go enthusiastically for Mr. Otero the late Delegate for re-election, the Delegate who obtained his seat by contesting that of the late Delegate Gallegos, Otero being admitted by the votes of the late Black Republican Party in Congress. . . . It is true that I do not know a single native American citizen of the plain 'Democratic' Party here that has ever been anything else in politics such are Judge Deavenport, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Major W. W. H. Davis of Penn Secretary of the Territory—Mr. Wheaton Dist Atty. and Judge Baird the present candidate for Delegate of the old party *et cet.* . . .¹¹

Hopkins also called to the attention of the president the "immoral conduct" of several government officials who were opposed to Baird. He recommended that the administration relieve the territory of these men, who by their "unchaste and private immoralities" were much resented by the Mexican population.¹² The *Gazette*, again being edited by James L. Collins, Weightman's old enemy, urged the election of Otero. The basis of its support was Otero's experience in Washington, commendation for his political philosophy, and his excellence as a representative of the native popu-

10. John Davis to James Buchanan, n.p., May 11, 1857, N. A. State Department Records, Appointment Papers, Applications for Office.

11. Thomas H. Hopkins to James Buchanan, Santa Fé, July 11, 1857, N. A., Interior Department Records, Secretary's Office, Patents and Miscellaneous Division, "Political and other Charges against Employees."

12. *Idem.*

lation. Judge Baird, who probably had less regard for Collins than for any other man in New Mexico, attacked Otero for accepting the support of the former abolitionist, Collins. He further added that if Otero accepted the political principles of the *Gazette* editor, he would alter his politics with every change in the national administration.¹³

In what was described as the most bitterly contested election in the history of the territory, Otero defeated Baird by approximately 2,500 votes.¹⁴ Baird attributed his defeat to the whigs, abolitionists, and Know Nothings and to the united Mexican vote.¹⁵ The *Gazette* in reviewing the election, stated that Baird had attempted to win the native vote by declaring himself a better Mexican than Otero, but had failed in this because the people had not forgotten his former relations with Texas. To Baird's accusation of abolitionism in New Mexico, the *Gazette* declared that not more than one or two men who had supported the candidacy of Otero had been born above the Mason-Dixon Line. His advocates, the *Gazette* added, did not hesitate to "maintain as just and right within itself the 'peculiar institution' of the South."¹⁶ In his attacks on Baird, Collins had the support of David J. Miller, a former Texan, who in the capacity of associate editor of the paper, condemned Baird for what he regarded as ungentlemanly conduct during the campaign. Miller expressed regret that Baird had sought to introduce abolitionism into the local election, for, he said, no abolitionists were members of the national democratic party. He also reported Baird as seeking to defeat Otero by making aspersive comments relative to the characters of the *Gazette's* editors.¹⁷

In the midst of the Otero-Baird contest, three men arrived in New Mexico, all of whom were to become actively

13. *Idem*.

14. Memorandum, House of Representatives Files, New Mexico Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

15. James L. Collins to William P. Dale, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Santa Fé, June 22, 1861, N. A., Interior Department Records, Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico Superintendency.

16. Santa Fé *Gazette*, May 22, 1858.

17. *Idem*.

involved in territorial politics. They were to be accused by the northern press and by political opponents in New Mexico of having been sent to the territory as slavery propagandists.¹⁸ One of these, Samuel Yost of Virginia, had at one time been the editor of the Staunton, Virginia, *Vindicator* before he moved to Lexington, Missouri, where he edited the *Expositor*.¹⁹ A victim of tuberculosis, Yost arrived in New Mexico with no plans as to employment. In November, 1857, he assumed the editorship of the *Gazette*. Yost declared that his political policy for the newspaper would be in accordance with the principles of the democratic party in the States and the national democratic party in New Mexico.²⁰

Alexander M. Jackson, the second of this group of so-called slavery propagandists, was a native of Ireland, but had lived in Virginia and Mississippi, where he had known Jefferson Davis for many years.²¹ He was appointed territorial secretary in September, 1857. When his commission to that office was confirmed officially by the senate, the *Gazette* observed:

The nomination of Hon. A. M. Jackson as Secretary of this Territory, has been confirmed by the U. S. Senate, and his commission received. Although Capt. Jackson has not been here a twelve-month, his courteous and cordial manner, liberal and intelligent views, and general demeanor as an officer and a gentleman, have won for him the esteem and respect of all who have made his acquaintance. No public officer has ever created a more favorable impression with our people, and none whose official administration and intercourse promises to be more acceptable and popular.²²

18. Kirby Benedict to Edward Bates, Santa Fé, October 20, 1861, N. A., Justice Department Records, Attorney General MSS.

19. Richard H. Weightman to Jacob Thompson, Washington, April 2, 1857, N. A., Interior Department Records, Secretary's Office, Appointment Division, Incoming Papers.

20. Santa Fé *Weekly Gazette*, November 5, 1858.

21. Alexander M. Jackson Papers, N. A., State Department Records, Appointment Papers, Applications for Office.

22. Santa Fé *Weekly Gazette*, July 31, 1858.

The third member of this group was Abraham Rencher, appointed governor to succeed David Meriwether of Kentucky.²³ Rencher had formerly represented a North Carolina district in congress and had also held a diplomatic post for a brief period as minister to Portugal.³⁴ His appointment did not receive the full approval of Otero, who was rumored to be seeking the position for a member of the Blackwood family. After Rencher was inducted into office, he and Otero became involved in a dispute over military policy in New Mexico, which was the beginning of a quarrel that increased in its bitterness until Rencher's withdrawal from New Mexico in 1861. Although both men were democrats and professed similar views concerning the rights of states to determine domestic policies, such was their personal enmity that all efforts of their friends to adjust differences failed. The immediate result of the misunderstanding was reflected in the belated appointments to territorial offices: more significantly, it may in some measure have affected Otero's attitude at the outbreak of the Civil War.

That Yost, Jackson, and Rencher were to become leaders in the protection of southern interests in New Mexico was foreshadowed in a letter written by Jackson to an acquaintance in Washington. After noting the number of southerners in the territory and the similarity between negro slavery and the native system of peonage, he predicted the passage of a slave code for New Mexico:

It is generally believed here that the territorial legislature will pass some kind of a slave code for the territory at the next session. It is true that we have few slaves here, but Otero has let it be known that if N. M. expects any favors from Wash., a slave code would be a wise move. The governor [Renchner] and most of the other officials are favorable to it. . . . We have assured the Mexicans that it will protect their own system of peonage. . . .²⁵

23. Abraham Rencher Papers, N. A., State Department Records, Appointment Papers, Applications for Office.

24. *Idem*.

25. Alexander Jackson to Robert Downs, Santa Fé, August 16, 1858 [?], N. A., Justice Department Records, Attorney General MSS.

In another letter to Jacob Thompson, secretary of the interior, whom Jackson had known in Mississippi, he urged the appointment of southerners to territorial offices in New Mexico.²⁶ He expressed his opinion that because of the large number of southern men already in the territory, the appointment of others from the South would promote the best interests there.

Although Jackson and Rencher as high officials in the territorial government favored a slave code for New Mexico, it is probable that Otero originated the idea as a means of strengthening pro-southern sentiment in the territory. He may have been encouraged in this attitude by his numerous southern associates in congress, who possibly visualized eventual statehood for the territory. A number of letters written by Otero make clear his political position and, finally, his advocacy of pro-slavery measures in the territory. In a letter to Jacob Thompson written at St. Louis, in route to Washington, Otero wrote that since his arrival in that city, he was greatly pleased at the condition of Democracy in that section of the country. He reported the victory of the democrats over what he termed "Black Republicanism" and added that such defeat was a blow to abolitionism, a "Waterloo defeat," as important in its implications as the failure of abolitionists in any of the border states.²⁷

On another occasion, when recommending his brother-in-law, William G. Blackwood for an associate judgeship in New Mexico, he addressed a number of communications to officials in Washington. In writing to President Buchanan, Otero alluded to Blackwood as a "States' Rights democrat and an able lawyer."²⁸

What appears to be the most direct evidence of his sponsorship of a slave code was expressed in a letter made

26. Alexander Jackson to Jacob Thompson, Santa Fé, n.d., N. A., Interior Department Records, Secretary's Office, Appointment Division, Incoming Papers.

27. Miguel Otero to Jacob Thompson, St. Louis, August 3, 1858, N. A., Interior Department Records, Secretary's Office, Appointment Division, Incoming Papers.

28. Miguel Otero to James Buchanan, Washington, January 10, 1859, N. A., Justice Department Records, Personnel Files, New Mexico.

public in 1860, in which Otero wrote Jackson, the territorial secretary :

I have been requested by General R. Davis, of Mississippi, to write you a letter, requesting you to draw up an act for the protection of property in slaves in New Mexico, and cause the same to be passed by our Legislature. I know that the laws of the United States, the Constitution, and the decisions of the Supreme Court on the Dred Scott case, established property in slaves in the Territories, but I think something should be done on the part of our Legislature to protect it. You will preceive at once the advantage of such a law for our territory, and I expect you will take good care to procure its passage. Immediately after its passage, you will dispatch copies to all the principal newspapers in the Southern States for publication, and also to the New York *Herald* 'very quick.'²⁹

When this letter was made public, Otero did not deny its authenticity, although he had opportunity of doing so in a number of public letters which he issued early in 1861.

Otero's motives were further clarified by E. P. Walton, editor of the *Watchman and State Journal* of Montpelier, Vermont.³⁰ In a letter to the commissioner of Indian affairs, he reported that he was informed by the most reliable sources of Otero's determination to secure the passage of a slave code for New Mexico. According to Walton, Otero had written officials in Santa Fé and a number of men in the territorial legislature that unless New Mexico adopted a code protecting slave property, "his influence at Washington with 'the powers that be' would be at end, and that all his efforts to secure anything for the protection of the territory would be useless." The Mexicans, Walton said, were being compelled to support the measure under threat of having

29. Pamphlet issued by the Republican Executive Congressional Committee, Preston King, Chairman, in which the letter of Otero to Jackson is printed, Huntington Library Collections.

30. E. P. Walton to A. B. Greenwood, Montpelier, Vermont, June 9, 1859, N. A., Interior Department Records, Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico Superintendency, Letters Received.

the military withdrawn from New Mexico, thus exposing the country to Indian barbarism. They, he continued, had been assured that slavery would not be introduced into the territory, but that a slave code was necessary to protect slave owners who might be transporting their property through that region. Leagued with the civil officials were said to be army officers of high rank, who likewise had used their influence in persuading the ignorant natives of the necessity of adopting a measure protecting slave property. According to Walton, these officials had made financial investments in New Mexico which could prove lucrative only in the event that large numbers of southerners were persuaded to bring their property to that region.

The reliability of the account is weakened by Walton's failure to name the source of information. However, to that part of the report recounting the investments of civil and military officials, available evidence does not substantiate such allegation. The appointment papers of the executive departments for this period would suggest that the men who were seeking positions in New Mexico possessed little capital. A few army officers might have acquired property, but according to army regulations, their tour of duty would have precluded the likelihood of many of them investing any appreciable sums.

As to the membership of this, the Eighth territorial legislature, that adopted "An Act for the protection of Slave Property in this Territory," it may be noted that in the council of thirteen members, all but two were natives; while in the house, with a membership of twenty-four, only one member was of Anglo-American origin.³¹ A record of the procedure which followed the introduction of the proposed slave code is fairly complete for the house, but not so for the council.³² The bill was introduced by Representative Pedro Valdez of Taos County on January 22, 1859. An effort was made by Representative O. P. Hovey of Santa Fé to suspend

31. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, 635, note.

32. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Territory of New Mexico, Session of 1858-1859*, 70-91.

the rules in order to hasten the adoption of the bill, but this proposal was defeated. On motion of Representative Manuel Herrera of San Miguel County, the bill was referred to a select committee, represented by one member from each county. On January 28, this committee reported to the house a recommendation for approval of the bill. In the ensuing vote, it was approved by a vote of twenty-three to one.³³

On the following day, the *Gazette* commented on the action of the house:

We are proud to announce that the House of Representatives of the Territorial Legislature of New Mexico yesterday passed, with but one dissenting voice, a very stringent bill "providing for the protection of property of slaves in this Territory," which was sent to the Senate where it will pass by a like very large majority. Let the statesmen and politicians of the Union, North and South, stick a pin there.³⁴

On February 3, 1859, a committee from the council reported to the house that it likewise had adopted the slave code. The measure was then signed by Governor Rencher.³⁵

This code as enacted by the New Mexico territorial legislature declared that killing a slave or committing any other offense upon the person of a slave was subject to the same penalty as though the victim were a white person; it punished the theft or abetment in escape of a slave by imprisonment from four to ten years and fines. It defined as a penal offense the furnishing of false papers, printed or handwritten, to a negro, free or slave; of attempting to "hire, entice, persuade or induce" any slave to be absent from his master's services; of inciting a slave into insurrection or in resisting his master. It prohibited gambling with slaves and the furnishing to them of arms, except by the master's written consent. Any person was empowered to take up any runaway slave and to claim any reward offered. The captor

33. *Ibid.*, 79.

34. *Santa Fé Weekly Gazette*, January 29, 1859.

35. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Territory of New Mexico, Session of 1858-1859*, p. 91.

received a minimum of twenty dollars in addition to ten cents for each mile to and from the place of apprehension. Sheriffs were required to receive and keep with proper care runaway slaves until claimed; failure to do this made the sheriff liable to a fine of not less than five hundred dollars and ineligible for reelection to office. The code also provided for the sale of unclaimed slaves. It required the master to engage counsel when a slave was indicted for a felony; provided for the reasonable protection of the slave's health; stipulated punishments for owners found guilty by a court of inhuman treatment of slaves; forbade masters giving their slaves the use of their own time; prescribed thirty-nine stripes across the bare back of a slave guilty of disorderly conduct in a public place, of insolent language or signs to a white person; prevented a slave, free negro, or mulatto from giving evidence in court against a white person, but allowed their testimony against each other; prohibited and annulled all marriages between whites and negroes, free or slave; decreed death for a negro found guilty of rape upon a white woman; prohibited the emancipation of slaves within New Mexico; required slaves to have passports when absent from their master's premises, the violation of which would lead to the infliction of thirty-nine stripes upon the bare back. If a free negro were held as a slave, the person guilty of such offense was liable to not less than five years nor more than ten years' sentence and fines. The slave code specifically stated that it in no way applied to peonage, the word "slave" designating only a member of the African race.³⁶

At the same session of the legislature, however, an act was passed providing for the arrest of fugitive servants who were bound to their masters under contract. The act, moreover, prohibited the courts from interfering in the correction of servants by their masters unless such correction was "in a cruel manner with clubs or stripes."³⁷ Two previ-

36. *Laws of the Territory of New Mexico. Passed by the Legislative Assembly, Session of 1858-1859.*

37. *Idem.*

ous acts governing peons had been passed after New Mexico had become a territory. That of 1851 prohibited a servant's quitting a master's services while in debt;³⁸ and that of 1853 legalized the sheriff's contracting a servant's services to the highest bidder when he could no longer be employed directly by his master.³⁹

The legislators were much more concerned in the enactment of a more stringent peonage law than in the adoption of a slave code. In this connection an interesting commentary came from an associate justice of the territorial supreme court of New Mexico, who was a native of Connecticut. In requesting a leave of absence from the territory, Justice William F. Boone took occasion to discuss the recently adopted slave code:

This body has passed a law for the protection of slave property in the territory. This was necessary, for the truth is I do not see how Americans are going to get on here without slavery. It can't be done. The Peons are not worth their salt and all other labour is unattainable. Slave labour can be made very profitable by cultivating the soil, and I will venture to say that a man with a half a dozen negroes would make a fortune at the present prices of produce by [?] and grains. The soil in the bottoms is very rich and productive. You must not place any credence in the story that slave property could not be made available here.⁴⁰

The New Mexico legislature, not satisfied with a slave code for negroes, sought to extend it to "male and female Indians that should be acquired from barbarous tribes."⁴¹ Governor Rencher in his annual message to the territorial legislature decreed that Indians were not slaves nor was it within the power of the legislature so to designate them. He stated, however, that should New Mexico acquire statehood, it would then be permitted to exercise powers in this

38. *Ibid.*, Session of 1851-1852.

39. *Ibid.*, Session of 1852-1853.

40. William F. Boone to Attorney General of the United States, Albuquerque, February 14, 1859, N. A., Justice Department Records, Attorney General MSS.

41. *Santa Fé Weekly Gazette*, December 6, 1860.

respect which a territory did not possess. In the opinion of the governor, the only Indians that could be held in a state of slavery were those in that condition at the time of the annexation of New Mexico and who had been so recognized as slave property under the Mexican Government.⁴²

What the legislature was attempting to do in enacting a slave code for Indians was to legalize a situation that had existed in New Mexico long prior to the American occupation. As already noted, the practical enslavement of Indians had been practiced in New Mexico for over two hundred years.⁴³ In 1862, the number of Indians held in slavery was estimated at six hundred.⁴³ As late as 1867, Indians were still being held in this condition by owners who "were exceedingly sensitive of their supposed interest in them, and easily alarmed at any movement of the civil courts, or otherwise, to dispossess them of their imagined property."⁴⁴

The adoption of a slave code was generally accepted by local politicians as New Mexico's complete conversion to southern principles. During the following year, a group of legislators of the Ninth Territorial Legislature, sitting as a special committee, adopted a resolution in which they declared that although New Mexico had been negligent in its delay to recognize slavery before 1859, this omission was a result of the small number of slaves in the territory, and not of a lack of sympathy for the institution.⁴⁵ The committee declared its belief that the Dred Scott decision had shown to the lawmakers of New Mexico the necessity of a slave code. In the opinion of the committee members, protection of property in slaves prevented discrimination against a large group of the American people. In conclusion, they stated that efforts should be made in New Mexico to

42. *Fourth Annual Message of Governor Rencher*, N. A., State Department Records, Territorial Papers, New Mexico, II.

43. John Ayres, *A Soldier's Experience in New Mexico*, MS., Bancroft Library, Berkeley.

44. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, 681, note.

45. *Report of a Special Committee of the House of Representatives of the Territory of New Mexico*, N. A., State Department Records, Territorial Papers, II.

induce slaveholders to come into the territory in large numbers. "We have room enough," they said, "and employment enough for all that will come." The report was signed by Salazar y Vigil, Miguel Lobato, Candelario Garcia, Antonio Tafoya, and Matias Medina.⁴⁶ If any member of this group could speak the English language, it was probably with difficulty. Alexander Jackson, on intimate terms with the legislators, might have made a few suggestions.

If the adoption of a slave code were so well received by the inhabitants as the special committee declared, the introduction of a repeal measure by Levi Keithly during the session of 1859-1860 was unexpected.⁴⁷ He was a member of the lower chamber from San Miguel County and had been elected speaker. According to one account, Keithly, "a plain, honest, straightforward old farmer," employed no devious political methods to assure the success of his proposal, believing that it would pass on its own merits. The same account related that when "those corrupt office-holders who had procured the passage of the law" heard of it, they took steps immediately to prevent the bill coming before the house for discussion. "That night," continued the report, "government officials kept open house. John Barleycorn did his work, and 'mint drops' were freely administered where other means failed." A Mexican was promised the speakership if he would employ his influence to defeat the bill, and, the report concluded, on the following morning Keithly was deposed, the Mexican became speaker, and nothing more was heard of the bill.⁴⁸ A study of a territorial record for that date cites the election of Keithly and his replacement by Celso C. Medina but takes no cognizance of a repeal measure at that session.⁴⁹

The adoption of a slave code for New Mexico did not create such interest as that which developed in the East

46. *Idem.*

47. Broadside, N. A., State Department Records, Territorial Papers, New Mexico, I.

48. *Bingham's Bill and Report on New Mexico Slave Codes*, pamphlet (Washington, 1860), Huntington Library Collections.

49. Ritch, *The Legislative Blue Book*, 106-107.

and North after the adoption of the anti-slavery memorial of 1848. New Mexico, in the period after 1850, had disappeared from the national picture. Far more momentous events occupied men's minds in 1859, accounting for the people in New Mexico regarding themselves as a "lost colony."⁵⁰ The slave code, however, was not entirely neglected in congress. Representative John Bingham of Ohio, chairman of the judiciary committee of the house in the Thirty-sixth Congress, introduced a bill on February 16, 1860:

To disapprove and declare null and void all territorial acts and parts of acts heretofore passed by the legislative assembly of New Mexico which establish, protect, or legalize involuntary servitude or slavery within said Territory, except as punishment for crime upon due conviction.⁵¹

A further provision of this bill would have nullified the peon law, which had been adopted along with the slave code. On May 10, 1860, a committee to which the bill was referred, made majority and minority reports. In recommending adoption of the bill, the majority justified its authority for such action by the terms of the territorial act for New Mexico, which gave to congress the right to declare null and void any measures passed by the New Mexico legislature. The minority report of the same committee asserted that by the terms of the Act of September 9, 1850, New Mexico might admit or prohibit slavery at the time of admission into the Union. By prohibiting protective legislation for slavery during the period that New Mexico enjoyed territorial status, congress was virtually driving out the institution.⁵²

The house took slight interest in the debate on the bill. The fact that the Baltimore convention of the democratic party was then in session probably accounted for the absence of a considerable part of the membership. Representative

50. *Santa Fé Weekly Gazette*, January 29, 1859.

51. *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., 808.

52. *House Reports*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 508.

Lawrence Keitt of South Carolina registered a brief protest, however, likening it to the Wilmot Proviso.⁵³ Representative William Montgomery of Pennsylvania, a democrat, thought it was nothing less than an attempt by republicans to show their attitude on the principle of popular sovereignty.⁵⁴

When finally brought to a vote, it passed the house ninety-seven to ninety, members voting according to strict party lines.⁵⁵ On the following day, it was sent to the senate, and on motion of Senator James S. Green of Missouri, was passed to the committee on territories, from which it did not emerge.⁵⁶

In New Mexico, keen interest was evidenced by the *Gazette* and by the expressions of opinion among the politicians.⁵⁷ "The abolitionists are seeking to take from us our sacred privileges," exclaimed the *Gazette*. At a meeting of citizens at Santa Fé, protest was made to any action of congress that threatened to deprive the inhabitants of their rights as citizens.⁵⁸

That New Mexico would follow the leadership of the southern states in any action taken by them appeared certain to leaders; local and national, in the summer of 1860. To all appearances, New Mexico with its twenty or thirty slaves, had aligned itself with Texas which, but a decade before, had claimed the greater part of its territory.

(to be continued)

53. *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., 2044-2045.

54. *Idem*.

55. *Idem*.

56. *Ibid.*, 2059, 2744.

57. Clippings from New Mexico newspapers, N. A., Justice Department Records, Attorney General MSS.

58. Clipping from the Santa Fé *Gazette*, N. A., Justice Department Records, Attorney General MSS.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY MINUTES, 1859-1863

Edited by LANSING B. BLOOM

THE FACT that the Historical Society of New Mexico came into being in December 1859 suggests that the early records of this organization might afford a somewhat novel picture of community life in Santa Fé just prior to the Civil War. This surmise is confirmed by a perusal of the minute book which served for the years 1859 to 1863, because in the names of officers and members, active and honorary, we have a perfect galaxy of men many of whom are well known historically in widely variant walks of life but all of whom here unite for the objectives which we shall find set forth in their constitution and by-laws. Participating in the meetings and activities of the Society during this initial period of its existence, we shall find officers of the U. S. Army and Territorial officials (some of whom were shortly to resign their commissions and throw in their lot with the Southern Confederacy), judges and lawyers, churchmen (Protestant as well as Catholic), Indian agents, politicians, merchants and traders, publishers, officials and members of the Territorial Assembly. Altogether it is a remarkable aggregation, —and a significant fact is that a large number of the men who thus showed their interest in the investigation, study, and preservation of things cultural were Spanish-American. Their names represent some of the best known old Spanish families of the Southwest. Several names also will be recognized as those of early representatives of the Jewish race who found their way to New Mexico as traders and merchants.

Where did the Historical Society hold its sessions? By the time of its second regular monthly meeting, they were occupying a hall which had been “rented from Bishop Lamy, for the reasonable sum of Twelve Dollars per month” and which had been furnished (because of much liberality of Santa Fé merchants) at a total expense of only about \$175.00.

Aid was acknowledged also in "transportation of the property by Major Donaldson and in making of curtains by Misses Bonneville and Sloan." Unfortunately the location of this hall which seems to have served the Society until they disbanded in September 1863 is not indicated; nor have we identified the residence of the first president, Colonel Grayson, where the adjourned meeting of December 28, 1859, was held—and also probably the first regular meeting of a month later.

We are on somewhat surer ground as to the place where the first "public meeting" was held (and also its two adjourned sessions), for we are told that those interested in the "preliminary proceedings to form a Historical Society of New Mexico" gathered on the evening of December 15, 1859, in the "Council Chamber." We know that this was then one of the halls of the Palace of the Governors; and we are fortunate in having a contemporary description of this hall from the pen of W. W. H. Davis.¹

After locating and describing the court-house of that period, Davis continues:

Having seen all the sights in and about the court-house, we turn our backs upon the *casa de justicia*, and continue our journey of route. We enter the Plaza at the northeast corner, and immediately the eye ranges along the portal of the palace in front of which we are now standing. It is not far from three hundred and fifty feet in length, and varies from twenty to seventy-five in width.² The portal or piazza in front is about fifteen feet wide, and runs the whole length of the building, the roof being supported by a row of unhewn pine logs. . . . At each end is a small adobe projection, extending a few feet in front of the main building—that on the east being occupied by the post-office, while the one on the west was formerly the *calabozo*, but is now partly in ruins. The first apartments we come to in going the rounds of the palace

1. Davis, *El Gringo* (New York, 1857), 168-170.

2. Query: in what part was the Palace then only twenty feet in depth?

are the office of the secretary of the Territory, which we enter through a quaint little old-fashioned door.³ . . .

We next visit the chamber of the Legislative Council. Passing along under the portal, we again enter the palace about midway of the front, and, turning from a small vestibule to the right, we find ourselves in the room where a portion of the wisdom of New Mexico annually assembles to make laws. The room is a comfortable one, with a good hard floor, and just large enough to accommodate the thirteen councilmen and the eight officers. The pine desks are ranged round the wall facing inward, and the president occupies a raised platform at one end, which is ornamented with a little red muslin drapery. Figured calico is tacked to the walls to prevent the members carrying away the whitewash on their coats—a thing they have no right to do in their capacity of law-makers. The executive chamber is on the opposite side of the passage-way, into which we step and find his excellency hard at work. . . .

Next in order is the House of Representatives—*la Cámara de Representantes*, the door of which opens upon the portal. This room differs in no essential from the council-chamber except being about one half larger, and having a small gallery separated from the body of the room by an adobe wall breast high, where the “unwashed” and “unterrified” sit and behold the operation of making laws with wonder and astonishment. . . .

Leaving the hall of the House, we enter the territorial library, which opens into a small vestibule leading from the portal. We find ourselves in a room not more than fifteen feet square. . . . Opening into the same vestibule is the office of superintendent of Indian affairs, which, with another room adjoining used for a store-room, occupies the west end of the palace building. Near

3. The identifying of this door is essential to an understanding of Davis' description. Some years ago, there was such an entrance around on the east flank of the Palace, but Davis seems to indicate an entrance on the long south side, under the portal.

by is a large vacant room, appropriated to the use of the Indians when they come in to see the superintendent on business, at which times they are fed by the government.

Davis' description of the Palace of the Governors as it was in the 1850's has been quoted at length for the convenience of any who wish to try to identify the location of the various halls and offices. The building as it is today shows numerous changes from what it was in 1882—in the removal of various partition walls, doors changed to windows or entirely closed, and new doorways opened. And in a similar way, a little study of the ground-plan of 1882⁴ will show that at that time numerous alterations in the building had been made from what it was in the 1850's. All that we can safely say is that the Council chamber where our Historical Society was started on its career was in the famous old Palace of the Governors. It is not difficult to visualize the gathering in such a hall as Davis describes, on a cold December evening; and we may venture to add that the hall would be heated by a glowing open fireplace at each end, and that it would be lighted by flickering candles distributed in sconces and candlesticks.

How comprehensive were the ideas of those who organized this new society is manifest in the constitution which they formulated; nor did they propose to admit to membership any drones or other undesirable persons. An application must be in writing and with recommendation of two members, and must lie over to the next regular meeting—at which time it must have a three-fourths ballot! Once elected, every member was to be assigned to one of the six (later, eleven) sections created: history, geography, Indian races, geology and mineralogy, antiquities and collections, natural history; agriculture, statistics, botany, biography, meteorology and climatology.

4. This ground-plan will be found in Historical Society Papers, No. 29; also in R. E. Twitchell, *Old Santa Fé, The Story of New Mexico's Ancient Capital* (Santa Fé, 1925), p. 331.

Especial interest will be found in the lists of names of those who signed as charter members at the meeting on December 26, 1859 (and the adjourned meeting of December 28), and of those who applied for membership at the January and February meetings. It is a remarkable array of names. However little the Society may seem to have accomplished before it was broken up by events of the Civil War, it is clear that the activities of the new organization represented an important addition to the cultural life of Santa Fé during this brief period. Santa Fé had at this time at least two Church orders; also two fraternal orders, Masons and Odd Fellows; and we find passing mention of two "literary societies." But here was an organization which disregarded such segregations and barriers; instead, its membership represented a cross-section as it were of Santa Fé society. The picture thus revealed may call for some readjustment by those whose idea of social life in early Santa Fé has been largely typified by drinking and gambling.

MINUTES OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

Founded December 26th A. D.

1859

Officers of the Historical Society of New Mexico

President: Colonel John B. Grayson U. S. A.

Vice President: W. A. Street

Corresponding Secretary: Dr. W. J. Sloan U. S. A.

Recording Secretary: David V. Whiting

Curator and Librarian: Winslow J. Howard Esq.

Santa Fé, New Mexico

Thursday Evening

December 15th, 1859

On this evening a public meeting was held at the Council Chamber for the purpose of taking preliminary proceedings to form a Historical Society of New Mexico.

On motion David V. Whiting Esq. was called to the Chair, and Winslow J. Howard Esq. was elected Secretary.⁵

The object of the meeting being stated by the Secretary and after remarks from the President and others,

It was ordered, on motion, that a committee of five persons be appointed by the chair, for the purpose of framing a Constitution and By Laws for the intended Society and to report on Thursday evening December 22nd.

5. Our earliest mention of David V. Whiting is in a letter of J. S. Calhoun, dated at the Indian agency in Santa Fé, February 16, 1851. (Abel, ed., *Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun*, 292) Soon, Calhoun was using him as translator and interpreter, and presently as private secretary. In December 1853, Whiting was made clerk of the same house in the legislative assembly, and two years later, again held the same post. He was also official translator for Surveyor-General Wm. Pelham, 1854-1860. In the Historical Society, he served through the year 1860 and is last mentioned as a member in June 1861.

Regarding Winslow J. Howard, unfortunately we know nothing except what is found in these records. It is evident, however, that he was one of the prime movers in organizing the Society. Possibly he nominated Whiting to preside; he himself was made secretary of the meeting—and it was he who stated the object for which they had gathered; and in the permanent organization he was made curator and librarian. Perhaps he found inspiration in the pages of the *Historical Magazine* (Boston, 1857-1869), of which he presented the Society a complete volume of the year 1859. He was the first one named in the charter of incorporation, the others specifically named being Grayson, Whiting, Clever, Sloan, Sena y Baca, Baird, and Pedro Valdez. At the April meeting Howard resigned his office, expressing regret that business reasons were causing his departure.

The following Gentlemen were appointed said Committee—viz: Messrs C. P. Clever, Facundo Pino, W. J. Howard, José G. Gallegos and M. Ashurst.⁶

On motion, the Committee were instructed to make the membership Five Dollars.

On motion, the meeting adjourned, to meet at the Council Chamber on Thursday Evening December 22nd at 7 O'clock p. m.

Thursday Evening
December 22nd 1859

The meeting was called to order pursuant to adjournment.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

The Committee appointed to draft a Constitution and By Laws for the Historical Society of New Mexico submitted their report.

On motion the Constitution was read entire and then read and acted upon by sections, and adopted as amended.

After protracted debates and discussions upon the several articles of the Constitution, it was

6. Charles P. Clever (1830-1874), native of Cologne, Germany, came to the U. S. in 1848 and to Santa Fé in 1850. He was engaged in merchandising from 1855 to 1862,—to '56 being a member of the firm Seligman and Clever. He was U. S. marshal, 1858-61; adjutant general 1861 (and again in 1867). After study of the law, he was admitted to the bar in 1861 and at once began to practice. He was clerk of the council in December 1857; attorney general 1862 (reappointed 1863, 1865, 1867); delegate to Congress 1869.

Facundo Pino was one of those at Santa Fé in December 1846, suspected of plotting against the U. S. government, but in later years his loyalty was unquestioned. He represented Santa Fé county repeatedly in the legislature: as a member of the house (1853, 1854), and council (1855, 1856—as president). In December, 1860 he was clerk of the house; a year later he was presiding again over the council,—and sill again in December 1862. With Benedict and Clever, Pino was appointed by Governor Connelly in 1862 on a commission to codify the laws of New Mexico, but Pino died in January 1863 before this task was finished.

José Guadalupe Gallegos should not be confused with José Manuel Gallegos. The former was from San Miguel county and served in the House (Dec., 1855); the latter was from Bernalillo county. In December 1858, José Guadalupe Gallegos was speaker of the house; a year later (when the Society was organizing) he was president of the council; and still again in December 1860—at which session José M. Gallegos presided over the lower chamber (now elected from Santa Fé county).

Merrill Ashurst was born in Alabama and was educated in the law. He came to New Mexico in 1851 and began to practice in Santa Fé. He served as attorney general 1852-54 and again 1867-69. He has been described as "a man of unusual ability, a convincing orator, and very successful as a prosecutor." In 1863 he and Clever were associated as a law firm.

In the first legislative assembly (1851) he was one of four members of the house from Santa Fé county; and was president of the same chamber in 1857. In December 1859 he was representing Santa Fé in the council, and again a year later. He died in 1869.

On motion ordered that the Constitution be referred to a new Committee consisting of five members with instructions to report again on the evening of the 26th December inst.

The following Gentlemen were appointed said Committee viz: Major J. L. Donaldson, Col. John B. Grayson, Hon. K. Benedict, Dr. W. J. Sloan and C. P. Clever Esq.⁷

On motion, the meeting adjourned, to meet on the evening of December 26 at 7 O'clock.

Monday Evening
December 26th 1859

The meeting was called to order pursuant to adjournment.

The Committee to whom were referred the Constitution to be re-framed, made the following Report, viz:

7. It will be noted that Clever was the only one of the original committee retained. James Lowry Donaldson was from Maryland, a graduate at West Point in 1832. During the Mexican War, he served in the quartermaster department (brevetted major after the battle of Buena Vista). At this time he was stationed in Santa Fé and during the Civil War he was one of the officers who remained loyal to the Union, serving as chief quartermaster. Upon the approach of the Texan army, it was he who transferred 120 wagons of war supplies from Santa Fé to Fort Union. These Historical Society records show that in December 1860 he was elected vice-president (and presided after Grayson's departure); and a year later, he was elected president. He presided at the regular meeting of June 30, 1862, but very soon afterwards he must have left for service in the east. He was on Sherman's march to the sea; rose to the rank of brigadier general (and brevet major general); retired in 1869 and resigned his commission five years later. He died on Nov. 4, 1885.

John Breckenridge Grayson was from Kentucky, a graduate at West Point in 1821. Like Donaldson, his early service was in the artillery. He also served in the Mexican War, being brevetted lieutenant-colonel for distinguished service in the battle of Chapultepec. He resigned his commission July 1, 1861, and during the Civil War was on the Confederate side. Our records show that he was elected the first president of the Society, and was re-elected in December 1860. He resigned this office on May 27, 1861, and at a special meeting on June 7 he was present when resolutions of warm appreciation were adopted by the Society.

Kirby Benedict is so well known historically as a lawyer, politician, and citizen of Santa Fé that no extended note is here necessary. At this time he was chief justice of the Territorial Supreme Court, in which office he served from 1858 to 1866. He played an active part in the new Historical Society, and in December 1862 he became its third elected president. For a very interesting biographical sketch, see R. E. Twitchell, "Kirby Benedict," in *Old Santa Fé*, I (July 1913), 50-92. (Through some inadvertence, Twitchell calls him the *first* elected president.)

Dr. William J. Sloan was at this time "major surgeon" stationed at Fort Marcy. He should be distinguished from Dr. J. H. Sloan who, a generation later, was twice mayor of Santa Fé. (Twitchell, *Old Santa Fé* (1925), 415, 416, note) Dr. William J. Sloan was from Pennsylvania, commissioned assistant surgeon July 12, 1837. He was honored in the 1860's with two brevets, and seems to have continued on active duty until his death, March 17, 1880. Apparently his Civil War service was wholly in the east, because he was one of those active in starting the Historical Society but resigned as corresponding secretary at the regular meeting in September 1860.

"The Committee to whom was referred the subject of a Constitution of a Historical Society of the Territory of New Mexico, respectfully report"

"That it has endeavoured to form an instrument, as plain, simple and comprehensive as possible, and in which every member of the Committee concurs. At the same time, it acknowledges its indebtedness to the labors of the previous Committee, several of whose ideas it has adopted."

"Although the subject of By Laws was not referred to the Committee, it has drawn up a number, to facilitate the organization of the Society which are herewith submitted and unanimously recommended.

Santa Fé, December 26, 1859"

(Signed) J. L. Donaldson
Wm. J. Sloan
John B. Grayson
C. P. Clever
Kirby Benedict

The above report was adopted, when on motion the following Constitution was read, viz:

Preamble

"We, whose names are hereto annexed, residents of the Territory of New Mexico, fully impressed with the vast field for historical research which surrounds; determined to devote our best energies to the elucidation of the history of this country, hitherto unwritten, and anxious to co-operate in combined effort, for this object, do now form an association and ordain for our government, the following

CONSTITUTION

Article 1st

Name

This Society shall be called the Historical Society of New Mexico.

Article 2d

Object

The object of this Society shall be the collection and preservation, under its own care and direction, of all historical facts, manuscripts, documents, records and memoirs, relating to this Territory; Indian

antiquities and curiosities, geological and mineralogical specimens, geographical maps and information; and objects of natural History.

Article 3rd

Officers

Section 1. Its officers shall be a President, Vice President, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary (who shall be Ex-officio Treasurer) and a Curator (who shall be ex-officio Librarian).

Section 2. The above officers shall hold their respective positions for one year; except the Corresponding Secretary who shall hold office during the pleasure of the Society. The first election shall be held immediately after the adoption of the Constitution and be by ballot, requiring a vote of two thirds of the members present. All subsequent elections shall be held at the regular meeting in December of each year, in the mode and manner above prescribed.

Section 3. The President shall preside, preserve order, regulate the proceedings of the Society, and state and put all questions to vote.

Section 4. The Vice President shall exercise all duties pertaining to the office of President, in the absence of the latter from any meeting.

Section 5. The Corresponding Secretary shall give notice to all new members of their election, and he shall manage all matters relating to the interests of the Society requiring correspondence. He shall read to the Society all communications and replies, which he may have made or received during the preceeding recess, and then deliver them to the Recording Secretary. He shall perform such other duties, pertaining to his office as the President or Society may direct, and shall preside during the absence of the President or Vice President.

Section 6. The Recording Secretary shall keep a fair record of the preceedings of the Society. He shall keep a correct list of all the members, and furnish the Corresponding Secretary with the names and places of residence of all newly elected members, and the time of their election. He shall keep in his possession all communications, records and other papers belonging to the Society, and to which all members shall have access. As Ex Officio Treasurer, he shall take charge of all funds, and report quarterly, on the condition of the Treasury.

Section 7. The Curator shall take charge of and classify all Indian antiquities and curiosities; geological and mineralogical specimens; geographical maps, and objects of Natural History.

Section 8. In the absence of the Presiding Officers, above designated, the Society may elect a President, *pro tem*; and in the absence of other officers, the Presiding Officer may appoint *pro tem*.

Article 4th

Meetings

The regular meeting of the Society shall be on the last Monday of each month; and special meetings may be called at any time by the President, upon the application of five members; or by resolution.

Article 5th

Membership

Section 1st. Application for membership must be made to the Society at one of its regular meetings, in writing, and recommended by two members; which application shall lie upon the table, until the next regular meeting thereafter, when a ballot shall be had. A vote of three fourths of the members present, shall be necessary to an election.

Section 2. Persons, not resident of the Territory of New Mexico may be proposed as Honorary Members of the Society by a member, and may be elected at any regular meeting, provided three fourths of the members present concur therein.

Section 3. Corresponding members may be elected by a vote of two thirds of the members present at any regular meeting.

Section 4. All persons who shall subscribe to this Constitution or be elected members of the Society, in accordance with its provisions, shall pay to the Treasurer five dollars.

Article 6

Specific Objects

Section 1. To render effective the action of the Society, it shall be divided into permanent sections, each section to consist of three members to be chosen by ballot; each section shall choose its own chairman. These sections shall be designated as follows, viz:

1. The section on History
2. The section on Geography
3. The section on Indian Races
4. The section on Geology and Mineralogy
5. The section on Antiquities and Collections
6. The section on Natural History

Section 2. It shall be the duty of each section above designated, to take cognizance of all details connected with that particular department; keep a record of its sessions and proceedings; and submit its papers and reports, when completed, to the Society, for its action, and for preservation among its archives.

Section 3. Vacancies may be filled by the President, and the permanent officers, shall not be precluded, by virtue of office, from election, to any section.

Section 4. All documents, maps, manuscripts, specimens, antiquities, curiosities, etc., collected by the Sections, shall be deposited, as heretofore directed, with the Recording Secretary or Curator, for the use of the Society.

Article 7th

Seal and Certificate of Membership

The Society may provide a suitable seal and device, and issue certificates of membership, under such regulations as may be deemed necessary.

Article 8th

By Laws

The Society may make such By Laws as may be deemed necessary, in accordance with the objects and powers of the Constitution.

Article 9th

Quorum

Seven members of the Society shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, at any meeting; but a less number may adjourn to the next regular meeting.

Article 10th

Amendments

No amendments shall be made to this Constitution unless submitted in writing, at a regular meeting of the Society, and concurred in, at the next regular meeting, by a vote of two thirds of the members present.

Santa Fé N M

Dec. 26, 1859.

It was on motion resolved that the Constitution be read by sections, when

The Preamble was adopted as read.

Articles 1, 2 and 3 were adopted as read.

On motion it was resolved that the further stating of the question on the adoption of the several articles be dispensed with and that they be considered adopted as read, unless amendments were proposed.

Article 4th was amended by inserting the following at the end of the article, "of any previous meeting," and adopted as amended.

Articles 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th were adopted as read.

On motion, the Constitution was adopted entire, as read and amended.

On motion, those persons present who desired to join the Society were requested to proceed to the Secretary's desk and annex their names to the Constitution, which was signed by the following persons, viz:

J. Houghton ⁸	Col. John B. Grayson
R. A. Wainwright ⁹	Wm. A. Street ¹⁶
Kirby Benedict	Maurice Schwartz Kopf ¹⁷
W. H. Brooks ¹⁰	Saml Gorman ¹⁸
C. P. Clever	S. M. Baird ¹⁹
J. L. Donaldson	Z. Staab ²⁰
I. A. Hill ¹¹	D. B. Koch ²¹
David V. Whiting	John D. Wilkins ²²
G. H. Child ¹²	Wm. J. Sloan
William C. Rencher ¹³	O. G. Wagner ²³
Winslow J. Howard	D. Hood ²⁴
Louis Felsenthal ¹⁴	Albert Elsborg ²⁵
Jesus Ma Sena y Baca ¹⁵	

8. Joab Houghton was born in New York State in 1811. He had a common school and collegiate education and was a civil engineer by profession. He arrived in Santa Fé in 1844 and the following year was appointed U. S. consul; and at about the same time he entered into partnership with Eugene Leitensdorfer, their place of business (to 1848) being at the corner of San Francisco St. and Galisteo Road. He was one of the three territorial judges appointed by General Kearny (1846) and served as chief justice to 1852. He continued in Santa Fé, in law partnership with Hugh N. Smith,—which was his status when the Historical Society was organized.

Houghton presided at the "treason" trials in Taos after the murder of Governor Bent. In September 1849 he was a principal in a rather absurd duel with Percy S. Weightman. During the Civil War he served as a U. S. attorney and drew indictments against citizens who allegedly had given aid and comfort to the Confederacy; and later, as judge of the Third District (Doña Ana, Grant, and Lincoln counties), 1865-69, he heard various suits for confiscation of properties in such cases. Also, 1861-68, he is listed as register of the U. S. Land Office at Santa Fé. He died at Las Vegas in 1877.

9. Robert A. Wainwright was from Massachusetts, a graduate at West Point in 1831. He had risen to the rank of captain by March 1853. He served through the Civil War as a Union officer and died on December 22, 1866.

In these minutes, we find him one of three assigned to the section on geology. Of devices submitted for a seal of the Society, his was the unanimous choice. After April 1860, there is no further mention of him.

10. William Henry Brooks was a member of the Masonic lodge; otherwise we have no information outside of these minutes. At first he was assigned to the section on geography, but later President Grayson placed him on biography. At the Janu-

any meeting, it was he who moved that they seek incorporation from the legislature then in session; and a month later as chairman, he reported their success. Perhaps he was a modest man, for his name did not appear in the document. It was on his motion also at the February meeting that Spruce M. Baird was invited to deliver an address on the former governor, Manuel Armijo. He should not be confused with Major W. T. H. Brooks who was at Fort Defiance in 1858.

11. I. A. Hill has been found only in these records. He was not in the army nor other federal employ. Possibly he was interested in mining, for he is among donors of geological specimens and was assigned to the corresponding section of the Society. He resigned in April 1860 and was made a corresponding member.

12. G. H. Child (or Childs) is another unknown. He was one of the first 21 who paid their \$5.00 initiation fee promptly, but he nowhere appears among the numerous donors to the Society nor did he take any active part in deliberations.

13. Abraham Rencher was governor from 1857 to 1861. "William C." seems to be a curious confusion by Secretary Whiting of Rencher with a previous governor, Lane (1852-53). Rencher donated various books and pamphlets, but took no active part in the meetings. At the meeting in November 1861, as "late governor" he complied with the request of the Society for a daguerreotype of himself.

14. Louis Felsenthal was clerk of the house, in the legislature which was then in session. Donations from him (June-July 1861) were an antique Spanish dragoon pistol, and epaulettes of the late Colonel Muñoz of the Mexican army.

15. Jesús María Sena y Baca had been clerk of the house in December 1854 and again in December 1858; at this time he was clerk of the council. Later he was to hold the same office in the house in December 1862, December 1869, and December 1871, and again in the council in January 1878.

When honorary members were being elected in January 1860 Sena y Baca proposed the name of Guadalupe Miranda. He was among those named as incorporators; and was assigned to the section on geography. In October 1860, he was on a special committee with Bishop Lamy and C. P. Clever.

16. William A. Street was from Virginia and had served as captain "assistant commissary of subsistence" during the latter part of the Mexican War. Discharged in August 1848, he was in Santa Fé from 1858 as receiver of the U. S. land office in that city and also as U. S. disbursing officer. During the Civil War, he was captain of the 55 Va. Infantry, C. S. A., and died in March 1863. Why he is called "Colonel" in these records is not explained.

In the first elections of our Society, he was the choice for vice-president and was one of the committee of three which secured the charter of incorporation. He was still in Santa Fé as late as the meeting of November 25, 1861.

17. Maurice Schwartzkopf is unknown except through these minutes, in which the only other mention is his assignment to the section on antiquities and collections.

18. Samuel Gorman was Baptist missionary at Laguna Indian pueblo from October 1852 to February 1859. Then partly for the sake of his wife's health, his mission board moved him to Santa Fé where he organized a church and had a school of sixty pupils (ranging in ages from five to twenty-five). His wife died February 19, 1862, and he had to close up his affairs in the midst of the turmoil caused by the Confederate invasion. On April 12, with his motherless boys and his possessions loaded on ox-wagons, he left Santa Fé for Denver and the east. See article "Rev. Samuel Gorman," in *Old Santa Fé*, I, no. 3 (Jan. 1914), 308-331.

With this missionary background, it is interesting to note his active but somewhat stormy record in the Historical Society. In the first elections (Dec. 1859), although not formally nominated for vice-president, Gorman was "runner up" and it took six ballots to elect Street! Not surprisingly, he was assigned to the section on

Indian races and he was one of the first members asked to give a prepared address. The paper which he read before a special meeting of the Society on August 20, 1860, occasioned a special meeting the next day and a committee on investigation—and their report on August 27 was an able and tactful handling of an embarrassing situation. They regretted that the tenderest feelings of many of their friends had been injured and their Hall was not to be made "a battleground of sectarianism." The printed paper (evidently Mr. Gorman had sent a copy to his mission board, for the imprint is "New York, 1860") reveals several passages which doubtless gave offense, but the committee stated that the most offensive ones were not found and evidently had been extemporized.

For more than a year, Mr. Gorman continued active in Society affairs. At the special meeting of December 19, 1860, no elected officer being present, he was asked to preside. We note especially that he was appointed chairman of the resolutions committee in May 1861, when Col. Grayson resigned the presidency on the eve of his departure for the South. Six months later, Gorman himself resigned his membership, no reason being recorded.

19. Spruce M. Baird, at this time, was a member of the lower chamber in the legislature from Bernalillo county; and for part of 1860 he served as attorney general. In 1857 he had been a strong contestant for election as delegate to Congress, against the incumbent, M. A. Otero. Still earlier he had served as a special Indian agent,—which perhaps explains why he was at first assigned to the section on Indian races with Gorman and J. L. Collins. But for the latter we are told that Baird probably had less regard "than for any other man in New Mexico," so it is not strange that President Grayson transferred him to the section on history!

In the Confederate invasion of New Mexico, Baird held commission as colonel of the 4th (6th?) cavalry. (*Confed. Milit. Hist.*, XI, 54) An indictment against him in October 1862 for treason was finally dismissed in May 1867.

20. Zadoc Staab was born in Westphalia, Germany, and arrived in Santa Fé with his brother Abraham in 1857. From 1858 "Zadoc Staab and Brother" were engaged in general merchandise and became one of the most important firms in the Southwest. A full-page advertisement of this firm is in Ritch, *Blue Book* (1882), appendix, p. 36. Zadoc Staab died in 1883.

21. D. B. Koch is not known outside of these records. No connection appears with the army, nor with any federal or territorial office. Probably he was in some line of business in Santa Fé. His gift of a Prussian thaler may indicate his own origin. Among those nominated in December 1860 he was proposed (but not elected) for curator and librarian. Last mention of him is as one of three named on a special committee in January 1863.

22. John D. Wilkins was from New York state, graduate of West Point in 1842. He served in the Mexican War, and at this time was a first lieutenant and regimental adjutant. He was to serve through the Civil War on the Union side; and died Feb. 20, 1900.

Our records show Wilkins as an active member. He served on the committee to draft the by-laws, and the Society approved his motion that 200 copies be printed in Spanish; also another motion that they have an interpreter to keep a Spanish copy of their record of proceedings and to interpret while they were in session.

But apparently he was transferred and left Santa Fé in spring of 1860. Grayson had appointed him chairman of the finance committee, but he resigned this post at the April meeting. He also resigned his membership and the Society made him a corresponding member.

23. Orlando G. Wagner was from Pennsylvania, graduate of West Point in 1854. At this time he was a second lieutenant of topographical engineers. He was mortally wounded at the siege of Yorktown, Va., April 16, 1862, and died five days later.

It was then moved that the By Laws be adopted by sections.

After the adoption of several sections and several amendments being proposed the further consideration of the By Laws was laid upon the table.

On motion the Society then proceeded to the election of Officers for the year.

Nominations for President being declared in order Col. John B. Grayson and K. Benedict were nominated.

On the 1st Ballot, Col. J. B. Grayson received 15 votes and K. Benedict 8 votes. 16 votes being necessary to an election the Society proceeded to a 2d Ballot.

When Col. J. B. Grayson received 12 votes and K. Benedict 8 votes. 14 votes being necessary to a choice the Society proceeded to a choice the Society proceeded to a Third Ballot, when K. Benedict having withdrawn Col. Grayson received 17 votes, W. A. Street 1 vote, Major J. L. Donaldson 1 vote. 13 votes being necessary to a choice,

Col. John B. Grayson was declared to be elected President of the Historical Society of New Mexico for one year.

Nominations for Vice President being declared in order, David V. Whiting, Maj. J. L. Donaldson, W. A. Street and K. Benedict were placed in nomination. D. V. Whiting having declined

J. L. Donaldson received 2 votes, C. P. Clever 1 vote, W. A. Street 5 votes, S. M. Baird 1 vote, K. Benedict 9 votes, J. Houghton 1 vote, Dr. W. J. Sloan 1 vote. 14 being necessary to a choice,

He also was an interested and active member of the Society, his gifts included various maps and the current volume of *Atlantic Monthly*. In the fall of 1860 he participated in a campaign against the Navahos and at the March (1861) meeting, he was requested to prepare an address on that "late war." But he seems to have been transferred rather suddenly, for in June his written resignation was read and he was made a corresponding member. A year later, they had word of his death. Appropriate resolutions were recorded, with action to wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days.

24. David Hood is not known except through these records. That he was well regarded by his fellow members is shown by his appointment to the important finance committee, and his reappointment a year later.

25. Albert Elsberg probably was engaged in business in Santa Fé. As was the case with about half of those whose names appear in these records, he was a member of the Masonic order, but otherwise we have no data regarding him.

He did not pay his initiation fee promptly, was dunned for it, and sent an unpleasant reply—with his resignation. The Society recorded indignation (Jan. 1860), but finally decided to accept the resignation and ignore the letter. Perhaps the gentleman had a grim sense of humor, for among donations to the Society reported at the September meeting we find: "The Court of Death and a jar of Reptiles in alcohol from A. Elsberg, Esq." And anyway, the Society already had a copy of Rembrandt Peale's famous painting, presented by Secretary Whiting in April.

A second ballot was had when S. Gorman received 7 votes, W. A. Street 8 votes, K. Benedict 2 votes, S. M. Baird 1 vote, 12 being necessary to a choice,

A Third ballot was had. Gorman received 7 votes, Street 7 votes, Benedict 3, scattering 2. Necessary to a choice 14.

A Fourth ballot was had. Street received 12 votes, Gorman 8, scattering 1. Necessary to a choice 14.

A fifth ballot was had. Street received 13 votes, Gorman 6, scattering one. Necessary to a choice 14.

On the Sixth ballot, Street received 14 votes, Gorman 4, scattering 2. Necessary to a choice 14.

Col. W. A. Street having received a majority of the votes cast, was declared to be elected Vice President of the Historical Society of New Mexico for one year.

Nominations for Corresponding Secretary being in order, Dr. W. J. Sloan and D. V. Whiting were placed in nomination for that office.

Dr. W. J. Sloan received 15 votes, Whiting 4, scattering 1, necessary to a choice 14.

Dr. W. J. Sloan having received a majority of the votes cast was declared to be elected Corresponding Secretary of the Historical Society of New Mexico, during the pleasure of the Society.

Nominations for Recording Secretary being in order, David V. Whiting, Chas. P. Clever and J. Houghton were placed in nomination for that office.

D. V. Whiting received 14 votes, Clever 2, Houghton 2, scattering 2, necessary to a choice 14.

David V. Whiting having received a majority of the votes cast was declared to be elected Corresponding Secretary (should read *Recording* Secretary) of the Historical Society of New Mexico for one year.

Nominations for Curator and Librarian being in order Winslow J. Howard was nominated for those offices.

W. J. Howard received 17 votes, scattering 1, necessary to choice 12.

When Winslow J. Howard was on motion declared to be unanimously elected Curator and Librarian of the Historical Society of New Mexico for one year.

On motion, the Officers elect were appropriately escorted to their respective chairs.

On motion the By Laws were taken from the table and after being discussed for some time were referred to a committee consisting of

D. V. Whiting, Dr. W. J. Sloan and Lieut. J. D. Wilkins with instructions to report upon the same, on Wednesday evening the 28th inst.

On motion Messrs. Gorman, Clever and Baird were appointed a committee to nominate committees on sections.

On motion, a vote of thanks was ordered to be tendered under the seal of the Society, for the suggestions and assistance in the formation of this Society.

On motion the Society adjourned to meet again, in adjourned meeting, on Wednesday the 28th inst. at the residence of the President of the Society.

Adjourned Meeting

Santa Fé New Mexico
Wednesday Evening
December 28th, 1859

The meeting was called to order, by the President, at the hour of adjournment.

On motion, the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting was dispensed with.

On motion of Lieut. Wilkins the vote dispensing with the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting was reconsidered.

The motion to dispense with the reading of the minutes was lost.

On motion of Dr. W. J. Sloan the Secretaries of the former meetings were allowed a sufficient time to prepare their minutes.

The Society was declared to be in recess.

The Society being called to order,

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and adopted (a proceeding unheard of, that minutes of a meeting be read on the same evening).

The Committee on By Laws reported the following

BY LAWS

Article 1st

The annual meetings of the Society shall be held on the last Monday in December of each year; the anniversary of its organization. The election of officers for the next ensuing year shall then be made. Nominations for officers shall be made at the monthly meeting next preceeding the annual meeting and shall be recorded in the minutes.

Article 2d

All committees shall be appointed by the President unless otherwise ordered by Resolution.

Article 3d

Section 1. The Recording Secretary shall keep, in addition to the records of the meetings, a book containing the Constitution and By Laws of the Society, which shall be subscribed by the members thereof on the evening of their admission, with their place of residence and date of admission. He shall also enter in said book all amendments made to the Constitution and By Laws. He shall also keep a Cash Book, in which he shall enter all the moneys received by him from whatever source, and all payments on account of the Society. He shall also keep a check or Warrant book, from which he shall fill up all checks for the signature of the President, and such other books as the Society or the President may deem necessary.

Section 2. As Ex Officio Treasurer, he shall not pay out any money, unless on a Warrant, drawn by the President, under the seal of the Society, and at the expiration of his term, and upon a final settlement of his accounts by the Finance Committee he shall turn over any balance of money in his hands to his successor in office, taking his receipt for the same.

Article 4th

On the evening of his installation into Office the President shall appoint two committees consisting of three members each, to be styled the "Finance Committee" and the committee of arrangements who shall serve for one year.

Article 5th

It shall be the duty of the Finance Committee to inspect the books of the Secretaries and Treasurer, examine and audit all accounts for purchases and expenditures made by the Committee of Arrangements and report the same to the Recording Secretary for payment and shall keep a book in which shall be entered the number of each account audited, in whose favor, and the amount thereof. At the expiration of their term they shall render a report of the financial condition of the Society, stating the amounts received and expended, as well as the amount of funds in the hands of the Treasurer, at the expiration of his term of office.

Article 6th

Section 1st. It shall be the duty of the Committee of Arrangements to procure a suitable room or rooms for the use of the Society, procure all furniture and other articles which may be necessary for the preservation of the Archives and cabinets of specimens, belonging to the Society or tending to the comfort and accommodation of the Society. They shall superintend the publication of all documents, reports etc. ordered to be printed, and shall have the supervision and management of all matters having reference to the internal arrangements and well being of the Society. They shall present all bills for purchases and expenditures made by them to the Finance Committee to be audited and settled.

Section 2d. An appeal may be taken from the decision of the Finance Committee, by the Committee of Arrangements, whenever necessary to the Society, in session, at any regular monthly meeting.

Article 7th

The Recording Secretary shall procure printed or engraved diplomas or certificates of membership, which he shall fill up, with the name of each member, and the date of his admission stating the class of his membership, whether a member, a corresponding member, or an honorary member, and after causing it to be signed by the President and affixing the seal thereto, duly attested, he shall deliver the same to the Corresponding Secretary for transmission.

Article 8th

Each member shall pay into the Treasury, monthly, the sum of ----- Dollar as dues, which may be increased or diminished only, upon a motion in writing, made at a regular meeting and which shall lie over until the next regular meeting and be adopted by a vote of two thirds of the members present.

Article 9th

Any member failing to pay his dues for three months, upon being notified by the Secretary, stating the amount due, shall forfeit his membership, unless a sufficient excuse be given and accepted by the Society.

Article 10th

Any member may withdraw from the Society, upon presenting a written resignation, accompanied by the Treasurers receipt for all indebtedness on his part, to the Society.

Article 11th

Section 1st. The following shall be the order of business after the meeting is called to order, viz:

- 1st. Reading the minutes of the last stated and intervening meetings.
- 2d. Applications of Candidates for membership.
- 3d. Election and admission of new members.
- 4th. Unfinished business.
- 5th. Reports of Committees and action thereon.
- 6th. Election of Officers.
- 7th. Resolutions.
- 8th. Communications received, read and disposed of.
- 9th. Reports from Sections.
10. Reading of papers by members present, and addresses on subjects embraced within the objects of the Society.

Section 2d. The above order of business may be dispensed with, at the option of the chair.

Article 12th

No other matter shall be discussed at a special meeting, except that for which it has been called, and no appropriation of money shall be made except at a regular meeting.

Article 13th

All proceedings, at the meetings of this Society shall be governed by the most approved parliamentary rules. All motions shall be made in writing, and an appeal may always be had to the Society, from the decision of the Chair.

Article 14th

Additional By Laws and amendments may be made except as herein otherwise provided, by a two third vote of the members present.

Article 15th

Upon the death of a member of this Society in good standing, if a resident of the place where the meetings of the Society are held, his funeral shall be attended by the Society in a body, and the members thereof, shall wear the customary badge of mourning for thirty days.

Article 16th

The hour of meeting of this Society shall be, from October 1st to April 30th, at _____ O'clock P. M., and from May 1st to September 30th, at _____ O'clock P. M.

Article 17th

All donations made to the Society shall be reported and entered upon the minutes.

After the reading of the above By Laws entire upon motion they were read by sections and where no amendments were offered to be considered adopted without the question being stated in each instance.

Articles 1st, 2d and 3d were adopted as read.

The following amendment was offered by J. Houghton to Article 4. Insert after the word year, the following, "Provided, that all the Committees required to be appointed under these By Laws, for the first term shall be appointed immediately after their adoption." The amendment being adopted, the article as amended was adopted.

Articles 5 and 6 were adopted as read.

Article 7 was amended by Major J. L. Donaldson by striking out the word "or" after the word "printed" and inserting after the word "engraved" the words "or illumined". The article was then adopted as amended.

The blank in Article 8 was ordered to be filled with One Dollar, and adopted as filled.

Article 9 was amended by striking out the word "three" and inserting the word "six" and adopted as amended.

Article 10 was adopted as read.

Article 11 was amended by striking out "at the option of the chair" and inserting "by a vote of the Society" and adopted as amended.

Article 12 was adopted as read.

Article 13 was amended by striking out the word "in" before the word "writing" and inserting the words "reduced to," and inserting after the word "writing" the words, "when required by the President."

The following substitute was offered to Article 14 and adopted viz:

No additions or amendments shall be made to these By Laws, unless submitted in writing, at a regular meeting of the Society, and concurred in, at the next regular meeting by a vote of two thirds of the members present.

Article 15th was adopted as read.

The first blank in Article 16th was ordered filled with 7, and the second with 8, and adopted.

Article 17 was adopted as read.

On motion, the By Laws as amended were adopted and ordered to be attached to the Constitution.

The Committee to nominate Sections reported progress and were allowed until the next regular meeting to report.

The President made the following appointments, viz:

Committee on Finance

Messrs Wilkins

Clever

Hood

Committee of Arrangements

Messrs Sloan Corr. Sec.

Howard Librarian

Whiting Rec. Secy.

On motion, the Committee of Arrangements were instructed to cause 200 copies of the Constitution and By Laws to be printed, and to present a device for a seal and a form of certificate of membership for the action of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary reported donations of Blank Books and Stationery from Messrs. Beck and Johnson and Z. Staab.

On motion a vote of thanks was ordered to be presented to Messrs. Beck and Johnson and Z. Staab for their liberal donations.

On motion of Judge K. Benedict the President was requested to deliver an address on the life and character of Brigadier General Stephen W. Kearney, and to designate the time most suitable to his wishes for the delivery thereof, when a special meeting is to be called if necessary.

The following persons affixed their names to the Constitution, viz:

James L. Collins²⁶

R. Frank Green²⁹

Oliver P. Hovey²⁷

James M. Giddings³⁰

Aaron Zeckendorf²⁸

Pedro Valdez³¹

26. James L. Collins came to New Mexico in 1827 as a merchant and trader, and so continued to 1843. Then for some years he seems to have operated from Booneville, Mo. Early in 1850 he bought control of the *Santa Fé Republican*, and changed its name to the *Gazette*. He made Wm. G. Kephart editor (1850-53), then W. W. H. Davis (1853-54); then edited it himself until after the Civil War.

When Col. Washington led an expedition into the Navaho country (Aug., 1849), he had with him the Indian agent, J. S. Calhoun, and Collins as Spanish interpreter. From 1857 to 1863, Collins was superintendent of Indian affairs in New Mexico, and from 1866 was receiver of the land office at Santa Fé. In 1866 also he was appointed U. S. depository and disbursing officer at Santa Fé, and on June 5, 1869, he was murdered when an attempt was made to steal the funds.

In the Historical Society, "Colonel" Collins was assigned to the section in Indian races, but he seems not to have taken an active part in the meetings. In December 1860, a resolution was passed inviting him to present a paper on some one of the native races at as early a date as he found convenient; but such an address was never given.

27. Oliver P. Hovey is found first as a volunteer in the force assembled at Santa Fé by Colonel Price to march on Taos after the killing of Governor Bent, in January 1847. Hovey & Davies established a press in Santa Fé, and from September 1847 were publishing the *Republican*. In 1860, several imprints show Hovey as "public printer." In December 1858, he was one of four members from Santa Fé county in the lower house; and again in December 1861, was one of three there. In the session of 1858-59, he gave active support to Pedro Valdez (below) in enacting a slave code for New Mexico.

Hovey was assigned to the section on statistics but took no active part in the work. He did make occasional donations, which included: a common salamander (alive) and a couple of striped yellow corn leaves; "autographs of the Japanese embassy"; and a copy of *Laws passed . . . December 1847* (Santa Fé, Hovey & Davies, 1848). Another Hovey imprint, *First Reader in Spanish* (1848) was given to the Society in July 1860 by John M. Kingsbury.

28. Aaron and Louis Zeckendorf were German merchants who had a general mercantile business in Old Albuquerque in 1867-69 and who later were located in Tucson, Ariz. Evidently they were in Santa Fé in the late 1850's; Louis was in Albuquerque in February 1863, a witness before a grand jury which was considering various indictments for treason.

Aaron was a charter member but took no active part in the work. But a "William Zeckendorf" was voted in, two months later, from whom numerous gifts were acknowledged to the end of 1861. Probably he was a third brother.

29. Reuben Frank Green transferred his Masonic membership from Platte City, Mo., to the new Masonic lodge in Santa Fé in May 1851. Reminiscing as of the summer of 1849, Col. José Francisco Perea related (*Old Santa Fé*, II, 401-2): "Frank Green and Thomas Bowler, both very popular caterers, were in charge of the Exchange Hotel, near the southeast corner of the Plaza." To secure expert help for the hostelry, Green made a trip to Chihuahua City, soon after the American Occupation, and returned with two bar-tenders, a half-dozen table waiters, Pancho's Band consisting of a number of well-trained musicians and an expert harpist, "the latter being of the

order of Doña Tules Barcelona. . . " Possibly he was interested also in mining; at the Feb. 1860 meeting, he was credited with "specimens of copper ore from Santa Rita, N. M." Aside from donations, he does not appear in these records.

30. James M. Giddings was remembered by J. J. Webb as one of three Americans whom he found in Santa Fé as permanent residents in 1844. Giddings was clerk of the house in the legislative assembly of December 1847; and clerk of the convention in 1848. He was probate clerk of Santa Fé county, 1848-52; and clerk of the supreme court, 1852-54. Citation (N. M. HIST. REV., XII, 258, note) of a statement from him in October 1864 from "Agua Fria" suggests that he may have become interested in the old land grant of that name near modern Santa Rosa, N. Mex.

Mr. Giddings was assigned to the section on geography, but apparently he took no active part in the Society's proceedings.

31. Pedro Valdez was native of Taos—where he had served on the grand jury in the famous treason trials of April 1847. As a member from Taos county in the lower chamber in December 1858-January 1859, it was he who introduced the "slave code" then enacted. (*vide* p. 239, *ante*) In the Taos county records, he is listed as probate clerk in 1855 and again in 1857-59; and probate judge in 1860-61; outside the records, the Valdez family controlled political affairs in that section. Later, he was clerk of the lower chamber in December 1863, and president of it in 1864.

Valdez is one of eight specifically named in the charter of incorporation, but he did not actively participate in Society affairs. Possibly he was lobbying at Santa Fé in the winter of 1859-60, but as the above dates show, he had no official connection there from January 1859 to December 1863,—which was three months after the Society had disbanded. However, he was in Santa Fé again in December 1862—as his appointment on a special committee at the meeting of Dec. 29 shows.

The initiation fee was paid by the following members viz: Messrs Howard, Street, Capt. Wainwright, Houghton, Benedict, Sloan, Baird, Hill, Koch, Rencher, Grayson, Wagner, Whiting, Hood, Donaldson, Brooks, Staab, Zeckendorf, Giddings, Wilkins and Childs.

Making the sum of One Hundred and five Dollars.

There being no further business on motion the Society adjourned.

David V. Whiting

Recording Secy.

First regular meeting

Historical Society
Santa Fé New Mexico
January 30, 1860.

The Society was called to order at the hour of adjournment by the President.

The minutes of all the preceeding meetings were read and approved.

Applications for membership were received from the following persons, viz:

Bishop Lamy ³²	Rev. Thos. Hayes ³³
Messrs. Henry Ruhe ³⁴	J. M. Whitlock ³⁵
Bernard Seligman ³⁶	Juan C. Tapia ³⁷
Serafin Ramirez ³⁸	J. Howe Watts ³⁹
R. V. Bonneau, U. S. A. ⁴⁰	R. E. Clements ⁴¹
M. Ashurst	W. H. Bell, U. S. A. ⁴²
M. Steck ⁴³	Felipe Delgado ⁴⁴
A. P. Wilbar ⁴⁵	Charles Blummer ⁴⁶
José G. Gallegos ⁴⁷	José M. Gallegos ⁴⁸
John Ward ⁴⁹	F. Metzgar ⁵⁰
W. A. Branford ⁵¹	Anto J. Otero ⁵²
S. A. Boice ⁵³	Geo. T. Beall ⁵⁴
	S. K. Hodges ⁵⁵

32. The Rev. John Lamy was born in France in 1814, and after his classical and theological studies was raised to the priesthood in December 1838. He volunteered as a missionary, coming to America and laboring for some years in Ohio and Kentucky. After his appointment as bishop of the newly created vicariate apostolic of New Mexico, he arrived in Santa Fé in the summer of 1851. By papal decree in July 1853, the vicariate of New Mexico was made an episcopal see, attached to the city of Santa Fé. (Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross*, 206.)

Bishop Lamy was assigned to the section on history, and he seems to have participated in a number of the regular meetings. His name appears also among donors in the lists of gifts reported from time to time.

3. The Rev. Thomas Hayes was a native of Ireland, and was one of three young men who were raised to the priesthood at Santa Fé during Lent of 1857. Because of ill health, he returned to Ireland in 1889 and died there in May 1892. (Salpointe, *op. cit.*, 208)

34. Henry Ruhe has not been found outside these records. A payment of \$39.00 to him, reported in March 1860, indicates that he was in some local business.

35. John M. Whitlock was a native of Kentucky and came to New Mexico in the early '40's as a physician and surgeon. He located in San Miguel county, married a Mrs. Josefita Lucero, and "moved to Agua Negra valley." (see N. M. Hist. Rev., XVI, 104-6). He was a member of the lower chamber from that county in December 1860-January 1861, but why he was in Santa Fé early in 1860 is not evident. He served during the Civil War with the First N. Mex. Volunteers, and afterwards is said to have resumed the practice of his profession in Las Vegas. The story of his tragic death in 1868 has been related by his granddaughter, Mrs. Benj. C. Hernández of Albuquerque. (*loc. cit.*) A different account (and placing his death at Fort Stanton in 1863) is given in *History of N. Mex.* (1907), Page 136.

He seems not to have been able to attend any meetings, but twice letters from him were read.

36. Bernard Seligman was born and educated in Germany, and had been employed in banking and mercantile business before he arrived in Santa Fé in the early 1850's. There, in 1856, he joined an older brother Sigmund (previously associated with Clever) in establishing the firm of Seligman Brothers. Later, he was to serve in the lower chamber in 1880, and in the council in 1888; also he was territorial treasurer from 1886 to 1891. He died in Philadelphia in 1903. (Twitchell, *Old Santa Fé*, 477)

But at this time, he was a young business man of Santa Fé. He was assigned to the section on botany, and is found among donors to the Society, but otherwise is not mentioned in the proceedings.

37. Juan Climaco Tapia has been found only as Territorial librarian during the years 1854-57. Ritch, *op. cit.*, 121, states that there was no librarian in the years 1858-68; investigation might show that Tapia continued into the period of our records. He took no active part in Society proceedings.

38. José Serafín Ramírez was from Bernalillo county and had served in the lower chamber in the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th legislatures (Dec., 1853 to Jan., 1857). Later, he served in the council in the 13th and 14th legislatures (Dec., 1863 to Jan., 1865).

Ramírez was assigned to the important section on history, but he took no active part in Society activities. Possibly he was interested in mining, for he added to the collections "specimens of copper, silver and iron ore from the Placer Mountains."

39. J. Howe Watts was adjutant general of the Territory for a short time (1880-81) but apparently held no other public office. Our only other reference to him is as one of three secretaries named on a printed call for a public meeting in Santa Fé in August 1860, to arrange for a campaign against hostile Navahos. (N. M. HIST. REV. IV, 408) He does not appear in the Historical Society records except that he was elected a member in February, and in April was assigned to the section on statistics.

We surmise that "J. Howe" was a son of Judge John S. Watts, native of Indiana, who served as associate justice (1851-54) with his seat at Albuquerque. Then he moved to Santa Fé and practiced law; and in 1861 was elected delegate to congress. He was appointed chief justice (1868) and was an important figure in Santa Fé to 1875, when he returned to Indiana. He died in 1876. Our surmise may be correct but we have not succeeded in verifying it.

40. Richard V. Bonneau, native of South Carolina, graduated at West Point in 1847 and at this time was a second lieutenant. He resigned his commission on Mar. 2, 1861, and joined the Confederate forces. He died in 1899.

Elected to membership in April 1860, Lieut. Bonneau resigned in May—and was made a corresponding member. In June, record was made of gifts from him: "2 beautiful pictures, one representing a part of the ruins of Gran Quivira, the other, a landscape on the Rio Grande."

41. R. E. Clements has not been identified. After being elected to the Society, he was assigned to the section on botany, but does not further appear in the proceedings.

42. William Hemphill Bell, native of Pennsylvania, graduated from West Point in 1853 and at this time he was a second lieutenant. Bell won his spurs in a sharp campaign against the Jicarilla Apaches, which resulted in a peace treaty in July 1854. He was brevetted major, Mar. 13, 1865, "for faithful and meritorious service in New Mexico." He did not retire from service until January 1898. He was elected a member of the Historical Society in February 1860, but apparently was away from Santa Fé too much to participate. He sent in his resignation to the August meeting.

43. Dr. Michael Steck, native of Pennsylvania, is best known from his long connection with the Indian service in New Mexico, although he was a member of the Masonic lodge in Santa Fé from some date prior to 1864; and in the winter of 1867-68 he was a member from Santa Fé county in the lower chamber of the legislature. From 1853 to 1863, Steck was Indian agent for the Southern Apaches, with his headquarters at Fort Stanton after that post was built in 1855; and from 1863 to 1865 he was superintendent of Indian affairs at Santa Fé.

In the Historical Society he was very fittingly assigned to the section on Indian races. Also a minute of the meeting in July 1860 records that a circular had been received from the noted ethnologist, Lewis H. Morgan of Rochester, N. Y., who was

seeking data regarding "degrees of relationship among different nations." One copy was referred to Dr. Steck "particularly with reference to the Apache Indians."

44. Felipe Delgado was remembered by the late Col. José Francisco Perea as a merchant in Santa Fé in 1846. (*Old Santa Fé*, III (April, 1915), 405). He was a brother of Simón Delgado who acquired the old Castrense and turned it into a store with dry goods, groceries, and liquors. (N. M. HIST. REV., X, 193) Don Felipe took part in the public meeting in Santa Fé in August 1860, calling for a campaign against hostile Navahos. It is said that he could not write English, yet in 1865 he was appointed superintendent of Indian affairs to succeed Steck; but was himself superseded in June 1866. Nor could he keep accounts without an assistant, yet in 1865, and again in 1869, for brief periods he held the office of Territorial treasurer. He was a member from Santa Fé county in the lower house of the legislature three times: 1862-63, 1864-65, and 1880-81. He was chosen in the summer of 1883 to impersonate Don Francisco Vázquez de Coronado in the pagentry of the Tercio-Millennial celebration.

45. Alexander P. Wilbar, native of Virginia, was called "General" probably because in 1860 he took over the office of surveyor general from William Pelham. Possibly he arrived *via* Utah, for one donation was a specimen of crystallized salt from there.

In December 1860, President Grayson named him on the permanent committee on arrangements, but doubtless he was of the Southerners who departed in the spring of 1861; last mention of him was at the meeting of February 1861. John A. Clark of Illinois succeeded him as surveyor general. While in Santa Fé, Wilbar was a member of the Masonic lodge.

46. Charles Blumner was appointed by General Kearny in Sept. 1846 Territorial treasurer and served to 1854, and again from 1857 to 1863. In 1856-58 he was U. S. marshal; and in 1862-69, U. S. collector of internal revenue. He also was identified with the Masonic lodge in Santa Fé.

In the Society records we find him appointed in June 1861 to the finance committee. In January 1863, we find him on a special committee; and he participated in the next and final meeting in September.

47. José Guadalupe Gallegos. (*vide* note 6, *supra*)

48. José Manuel Gallegos was educated for the priesthood in Durango, Mexico. Incomplete records show that he was in charge of Santo Domingo pueblo in 1833-35, and of Santa Clara and San Juan pueblos in the 1840's. From about 1845 he was priest at Old Albuquerque; not long after Bishop Lamy arrived in 1851, Gallegos was suspended from the priesthood on grounds of concubinage.

Gallegos was an able man and very popular, and for many years was active in politics. In October 1843, he was a candidate for deputy from New Mexico to the congress in Mexico City; that same year he was elected to the Departmental Assembly and became its president; and he was again elected to the 2nd and last Assembly under Mexican rule.

He was one of the chief conspirators against the U. S. government in December 1846. He was a member of the council in the legislature of 1851, representing Bernalillo county. He was delegate to congress in 1853-54, and upon his return moved to Santa Fé. He represented Santa Fé county in the 10th, 11th, and 12th assemblies (Dec. 1860-Jan. 1863), in each being president of the house. He filled the same post in the 17th assembly (Dec. 1867-Jan. 1868), and was again sent to congress in 1871-72.

49. John Ward was the first to hold the office of Territorial librarian (1852-54), under conditions described by W. W. H. Davis in *El Gringo*, 171-72. "Opening into the same vestibule is the office of the superintendent of Indian affairs,"—very convenient for Ward who seems to have been chief clerk there from 1852 to 1857. At

Which applications lie over until the next regular meeting.

The Committee of arrangements submitted the following Report, which was ordered to be filed with the archives, viz:

Santa Fé January 30, 1860

The Committee of arrangements beg leave to report that they have purchased large and valuable Record Books for the different officers requiring them; that they had printed for the Corresponding Secretary, two hundred and fifty circulars in Spanish and English; that they have sent the Constitution and By Laws to St. Louis for publication in pamphlet form; that they have sent to different Historical Societies for copies of certificates of membership before adopting any definite plan. The Committee have also a few designs for a seal and devise which they lay before the Society for its action. The Committee have not engaged rooms or furniture for the permanent use of the Society but have preferred waiting a short time until some calculation would be made of the probable number of paying members. The committee propose careful and prudent action and a rigid economy.

Signed W. J. Sloan Cor. Sec. D. V. Whiting Rec. Sec.
W. J. Howard Curator

the latter date, when Collins became superintendent, Ward was made agent for the Navaho, and later (1861-63) Pueblo Indian agent. He affiliated with the Masonic lodge in Santa Fé in 1851. His agency duties seem to have kept him from any active part in Historical Society affairs.

50. Frank Metzger, mentioned as an early settler in Las Vegas (N. M. Hist. Rev., VIII, 260) is probably this man. He has not been identified otherwise.

51. W. A. Branford has not been identified.

52. Antonio José Otero was associate justice of the supreme court, serving the second district 1846-51, the only man of Spanish descent ever a member of that body. He was born in Valencia, N. Mex., in 1809, and died in 1871, "honored and respected by all." (Twitchell, *Leading Facts of N. Mex. History*, II, 273-4, note.)

53. Stephen Boice was a member of the Masonic lodge in Santa Fé before 1864, but has not otherwise been identified. In the February minutes, he is styled "Dr." He was assigned to the section on geology and mineralogy, and in May was credited with specimens from the Warm Springs near Las Vegas.

54. George T. Beall at this time may have been a civilian employee connected with the post in Santa Fé. A man of this name from the District of Columbia was in service in New Mexico, from July 28, 1866 as medical store-keeper with title "Captain." He retired Feb. 25, 1894. He was a member of the Masonic lodge there before 1864.

When elected in February, Beall is styled "Mr." At the March meeting he donated a silver Bavarian thaler.

He is not to be confused with E. F. Beale of camel fame.

55. Samuel K. Hodges was another Mason in Santa Fé before 1864, but has not otherwise been identified. He was assigned to the section on statistics, and at the meeting of February 1861 was named on a special committee to draft rules for the government of the Society library.

The Librarian and Curator submitted the following Report viz:

The accessions to the Library since the last meeting are as follows:

By Donation from Hon. A. M. Jackson,⁵⁶

35 bound volumes and 32 pamphlets

From Major J. L. Donaldson

30 bound volumes, 18 Pamphlets and 4 bound maps

From David V. Whiting

20 bound volumes, 19 Pamphlets and 1 Engraving
"Shakespeare and his Friends"

From W. J. Howard

31 bound volumes, 4 pamphlets and 11 maps

From William C. Rencher⁵⁷

7 bound volumes, 3 Governors Messages, and 1 Colored
Lithograph by the Japan Expedition.

From I. A. Hill

1 Volume

From W. H. Brooks⁵⁸

3 Bound volumes

From Miss Ellen Shoemaker⁵⁹

2 Mexican Coins and 1 Rare Washington medaillette

From Dr. J. J. Beck⁶⁰

2 Large Picture frames and 3 Documents

56. This was a welcome addition to the Society collections; and so also was another, reported at the February meeting: "the original Coat of Arms that was attached to the Executive office of General Armijo." Jackson was Territorial secretary (1857-61) appointed by President Buchanan, and it is somewhat surprising that he did not identify himself with the Historical Society. A year later, he left with others to join the Confederacy, returning shortly with Col. Baylor when he occupied the Mesilla valley.

57. Abraham Rencher was governor of New Mexico, 1857-61. No "William C." Rencher is known; possibly this is a slip in the record, confusing Rencher with William C. Lane, former governor. At the meeting of November 1861, the gift was reported of a daguerreotype from "his Excellency, A. Rencher, late Governor of this Territory."

58. See note 10, *supra*.

59. Capt. William Rawle Shoemaker, native of Penn., entered the service from Illinois in 1841 as military storekeeper in the ordnance department. In November 1851 and again in the spring of 1862, he is mentioned in charge of military stores at Fort Union, N. Mex. We surmise that this Miss Shoemaker was a daughter.

60. As Preston Beck, merchant of Santa Fé, had been killed in a duel there in 1858, this Dr. J. J. Beck may have been the partner at this time of one Johnson, a firm twice mentioned in a financial report found below in the minutes of March 26, 1860.

From C. P. Clever
26 Bound Volumes and 17 Pamphlets

From G. T. Beall
1 Silver Bavarian Coin

From Mr. L. DeLangle⁶¹
3 French and 2 American Coins

From Mr. Jos Beuthner,⁶² "Fernando de Taos"
1 Skin of a rare species of Grey Fox

The above contributions amounting in the aggregate to 156 Bound Volumes, 93 Pamphlets, 15 Maps, 9 Coins, 2 Picture frames and 1 Fox Skin.

Among the more important works added to the Library are:

Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella,	2 vols.
Macauly's History of England, complete,	2 vols.
Irving's Life of Washington	5 vols.
Rollins Ancient History	2 vols.
Wards Mexico	2 vols.
Jacobs Law Dictionary, published in 1797	2 vols.
Owens Geological Report of Wisconsin	2 vols.
United States Japan Expedition	2 vols.
Seyberts Statistical Annals	1 vol.
Prescotts Biographical & Critical Miscellanies	1 vol.
Congressional Reports of Explorations & Surveys with colored engravings, etc.	18 vols.

In connection with the Natural History and Geological Departments many donations have been made from various sources, but a sufficient time has not elapsed since their reception, to name and classify them correctly, the report of which will be made at the next regular meeting.

Respectfully submitted

Wins. J. Howard

Librarian and Curator.

61. Mr. L. DeLangle has not been identified. A similar donation of French coins is found in the March minutes. The name might be a poor recording of Lieut. Julius O. de'Lagnel—if that officer was stationed in Santa Fé at this time. In any case, he did not become a member.

62. Solomon, Samson, and Joseph Beuthner were early arrivals in Taos after 1846, and had a general mercantile business there. Joseph and Solomon were members of the Masonic lodge in Santa Fé before 1864.

Solomon and Samson applied for membership in the Society in July 1860, and were elected the next month. Other gifts from them were reported in March and August of this year.

On motion, the cordial thanks of the Society were ordered to be tendered to the donors mentioned in the Curators Report, and the Report be filled with the Archives of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary reported donations of stationery etc. from Messrs. E. Spiegelberg ⁶³ and D. V. Whiting, and the thanks of the Society were ordered to be tendered to the donors.

The Committee appointed to nominate Sections made the following report, viz:

Santa Fé January 30, 1860

To the President and Members of the
Historical Society of New Mexico
Gentlemen:

The Committee appointed to suggest to your Society the names of such gentlemen proper to compose the different sections provided for, by the Constitution, beg leave to report that in their deliberation they have taken into consideration the tastes and qualifications of the different members of the Society in making their selections and suggest the election of the following named gentlemen to the different sections, viz:

First. On History

Judge K. Benedict, Judge J. Houghton, and Col.
J. B. Grayson

Second. On Geography

Col. W. A. Street, W. H. Brooks and G. H. Childs

Third. On Indian Races

Rev. S. Gorman, Col. James L. Collins and Judge
S. M. Baird.

Fourth. On Geology.

Maj. J. L. Donaldson, Capt. Wainwright and Lieut.
Wagner

Fifth On Antiquities and Collections

W. J. Howard, I. A. Hill and D. V. Whiting

63. This was either Elias or Emanuel Spiegelberg, two of six brothers who had come to the Southwest. First to arrive (1846) was "Solomon Jacob." The oldest brother was Lehman, who in the 1870's was president of the Second National Bank. The others were Levi and the youngest, Willi, a youth of 15 who had just arrived from Germany in 1859.

None of them became members of the Historical Society, but Levi is shown in donations reported in February and September 1860.

Sixth On Natural History

Dr. W. J. Sloan, Lieut. J. D. Wilkins and C. P. Clever

The committee confidently believes, that these gentlemen are not only capable, but willing to devote their energy and zeal to discharge the duties imposed upon them by the Constitution, as members of such sections to the advantage of the Association and creditable to themselves and the Society.

Respectfully submitted

Signed Saml Gorman

" C. P. Clever

Committee

On motion the above report was ordered to lie upon the table until after the election of new members at the next regular meeting.

The following Resolution was presented by Hon. K. Benedict and adopted, viz:

"Resolved: That in all instances of any valuable or suitable and proper donation being made to this Society the Corresponding Secretary is hereby instructed to address a note manifesting the thanks of the Society to the donor."

Lieut. J. D. Wilkins introduced the following Resolution, which was also adopted:

"Resolved: That the President of the Society appoint from its members, an Interpreter, whose duty it will be, to keep a copy of the record of the proceedings of the Society, translated into Spanish, and also to interpret the proceedings of the Society while in session."⁶⁴

The following Resolution was introduced by D. V. Whiting, viz:

"Resolved that the Committee of Arrangements be instructed to cause the Constitution and By Laws of this Society to be translated into Spanish and order the printing of 500 copies thereof for the use of the members."

The resolution was amended by striking out 500 and inserting 200, whereupon the Resolution was adopted as amended.

On motion of Mr. Brooks a committee of three members was ordered to be appointed by the President to procure from the Legis-

64. While no interpreter seems to have been appointed, there are various indications that both Spanish and English were used in their meetings, and especially when formal addresses were being given.

lature an act of incorporation for this Society, if possible during the present session.

Messrs. Brooks, Clever and Street were appointed said Committee.

The Corresponding Secretary read communications from the following persons in answer to the circular addressed to them viz:

L. J. Keithley,⁶⁵ A. S. Ferris,⁶⁶ E. Martinez,⁶⁷ J. M. Whitlock, Capt. Geo. McLane U. S. A.,⁶⁸ Capt. Thos. Claiborne,⁶⁹ Rev. Thos. A. Hayes, Jos. Beuthner and Dr. W. W. Anderson, U. S. A.⁷⁰

A communication was received from Mr. A. Elsberg, enclosing the amount of his initiation fee and tendering his resignation as a member of this Society.

On motion of C. P. Clever Esq. the amount transmitted was ordered to be enclosed and his communication returned.

The above vote was reconsidered when,

On motion of Dr. Sloan, Mr. Elsberg's resignation was accepted.

On motion of Judge Benedict the Communication of Mr. Elsberg was laid upon the table indefinitely.

Several devices for a seal were presented by the Committee of Arrangements, when

On motion of Judge Benedict device No. 5, designed by Captain R. A. Wainwright, was unanimously adopted.

65. Levi J. Keithly is alluded to in records of 1852-53. In December 1859, he was a member of the house from San Miguel county; was elected speaker, but was shortly ousted by those favoring a slave code for New Mexico. A year later, he was again a member of the house. In 1862-65, he was Indian agent for the Ute and Apache at Cimarrón.

66. A. S. Ferris, not identified; possibly the same as "Dr. Ferris" who, in May, donated "a map of the artesian well of Belcher and Bros. at St. Louis."

67. E. Martinez, not identified.

68. Capt. George McLane was a native of Delaware but enlisted from Maryland. He served during the Mexican War as an officer of the Mounted Rifles. He got his captaincy Dec. 30, 1856. He was killed in action on Oct. 13, 1860, at the southern base of Black Rock in the Navaho country.

69. Capt. Thomas Claiborne, native of Tennessee, was another who served as an officer of the Mounted Rifles during the Mexican War. His commission as captain, dated Aug. 30, 1853, was resigned May 14, 1861, when he gave his services to the Confederacy.

70. Dr. William Wallace Anderson, U.S.A., was from South Carolina. His commission as assistant surgeon, dated June 29, 1849, was resigned Apr. 20, 1861. He is another who served on the Confederate side in the Civil War.

Nominations for Honorary and Corresponding Members being declared in order,⁷¹ the following Gentlemen were proposed as Hon. members viz:

Professor Louis Agassiz ⁷²	}	Proposed by D. V. Whiting
Hon. J. S. Phelps		
Genl. John Garland		
Hon. J. P. Kennedy ⁷³	}	" " Maj. J. L. Donaldson
Brantz Mayer		
H. E. James Buchanan ⁷⁴	}	" " K. Benedict
H. R. Schoolcraft		
Lieut. Maury		
Geo. Bancroft	}	" " W. J. Howard
Prof. Seyfarth ⁷⁵		
Dr. Hawks		
Lieut. Whipple ⁷⁶	}	" " C. P. Clever
Prof. Henry		
Prof. H. L. Kendrick ⁷⁷	"	" Lieut. Wilkins
" Horsford ⁷⁸	"	" Capt. R. A. Wainwright
Guadalupe Miranda ⁷⁹	"	" Jesus Sena y Baca
Professor Swallow ⁸⁰	"	" D. Hood
G. W. Kendall ⁸¹	}	" " W. H. Brooks
Hon. J. Sparks		
Hon. J. Breckenridge ⁸²	"	" J. Houghton

71. The lists which follow are one of the most significant parts of these records. They supply a cultural index, as it were, of this new Society. Here are names of men whom our members desired to honor as outstanding leaders in their respective fields; men also with whom they desired to establish helpful relations. Doubtless they were properly notified of the action here taken, for in later minutes are reported letters from most of them. Unfortunately, we do not have this early correspondence.

Of those nominated as honorary members, all but three may be found in the *Dictionary of American Biography*; and the same is true of three of those nominated as corresponding members.

72. Three were nominated by Secretary Whiting: Jean Louis Rodolphe Agassiz (1807-73), of Swiss birth, who was already a great naturalist when he came to Harvard University in 1846. Was a close friend of the great Humboldt, though much younger.

John Smith Phelps (1814-86), native of Connecticut, moved to Missouri in 1837; congressman, 1844-62. In 1859, on invitation of the legislative assembly, he had made a tour of the Rio Grande valley from El Paso to Taos, being given public ovations at Albuquerque, Santa Fé, and Taos. (Ritch, *Blue Book*, appendix, 25)

John Garland, native of Virginia, began his military career as first lieutenant, 35th Infantry, in 1813. He served through the Mexican War and, in 1854, was colonel of the 8th Infantry (and brevet brigadier general) when he took over command of the Department of New Mexico from Col. Fauntleroy. In 1856, he in turn was relieved by Col. Bonneville. Evidently General Garland had been transferred away from Santa Fé, but where he was in 1860 is not known. He died on June 5, 1861.

73. Major Donaldson nominated two:

John Pendleton Kennedy (1795-1870), of Scotch-Irish descent, native of Maryland, author and statesman. He served in congress (1840-44); and was secretary of the navy (1852-53) under President Fillmore. "The last forty years of Kennedy's life were chiefly devoted to creative writing and to politics."

Brantz Mayer (1809-79), native of Maryland, lawyer and author. In 1841, he went to Mexico as secretary of the U. S. legation. Two of his best known works were *Mexico as it was and as it is* (1844), and *Mexico, Aztec, Spanish, and Republican* (2 vols., 1851).

74. Judge Benedict nominated four:

James Buchanan (1791-1868), native of Pennsylvania, had been secretary of state under Polk (1845-49) and minister to Great Britain (1853-56). He was now president of the United States (1857-61).

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (1793-1864), native of New York, explorer and ethnologist, was known especially for his writings on the native races.

Matthew Fontaine Maury (1806-73), native of Virginia, naval officer and oceanographer. He began his career as a midshipman (1825) and in nine years was on three extended cruises. He became an outspoken critic of inefficiency and maladministration in the navy. In 1824, he was given an important post which included the superintendency of the new Naval Observatory, and from this time his main work was in research and writing as an oceanographer, a line in which he attained world renown. The success of the first trans-Atlantic cable was due in decisive part to his scientific help. On April 20, 1861, he resigned his post and became an officer of the Confederate navy; but the last years of his life (1869-73) he was professor of meteorology at the Virginia Military Institute in Lexington. He was an uncle of Capt. D. H. Maury (see minutes of July 30, 1860).

George Bancroft (1800-91), native of Massachusetts, the famous historian and diplomat.

75. Two were nominated by Secretary Howard:

Gustavus Seyffarth (1796-1885), native of Germany, archaeologist and theologian; came to the U. S. in 1856 and for three years taught in Concordia College, St. Louis. In 1859, he moved to New York.

Francis Lister Hawks (1798-1866), native of North Carolina, Protestant Episcopal clergyman and historian. In 1835, he was elected missionary bishop of the Southwest but declined the office. In 1844, he became rector in New Orleans and was elected first president of the University of Louisiana. In 1849, he went to New York as a rector; in 1862 as a Southerner, he went to Baltimore, but he returned to New York in 1865. He was a leader in reorganizing the New York Historical Society; was a founder of the American Ethnological Society and its vice-president (1855-59); and also was a founder of the American Geographical and Statistical Society, of which he was president for several years.

76. Two also were nominated by Clever:

Amiel Weeks Whipple (1816-63), native of Mass., graduate of West Point in 1841, soldier and topographical engineer. He is best known in connection with the boundary and railway surveys of the years 1849-56.

Joseph Henry (1797-1878), native of New York, physicist and (from 1846) first secretary and director of the Smithsonian Institution. He also helped organize the important American Association for the Advancement of Science (A.A.A.S., for short) and was its second president (1849).

The above gentlemen were by vote, each unanimously elected Honorary Members of this Society.⁸³

77. Wilkins nominated one of his West Point professors:

Henry Lane Kendrick, native of New Hampshire, graduated at West Point in 1831, and was commissioned first in Infantry and later in Artillery. He saw service in the Mexican War, and from Mar. 3, 1857, was a professor at the Military Academy. He was retired (Dec. 13, 1880) with rank of colonel, and died May 24, 1891. He was well and favorably known in the Southwest where, as brevet major, he saw active service in the 1850's. (Abel, ed., *op. cit.*, *passim*)

78. Captain Wainwright nominated another professor:

Eben Norton Horsford (1818-93) was a native of New York, well known for his investigations and writings in the field of chemistry.

79. Sr. Sena y Baca contributed the only nominee with a Spanish name:

Guadalupe Miranda, as a young man in 1831, was conducting a private school in the vicar's house at Santa Fé; and the next spring, he was asked by the territorial deputation to take charge of a public school which they were trying to establish. He was secretary of government (April 9, 1839 to Oct. 1843) under Governor Manuel Armijo, and it was during this period that he and Carlos Beaubien were given a tract which later became the famous Maxwell Land grant. In February 1845, we have a glimpse of him as an alcalde and engaged in trade, at El Paso del Norte. He did not become an American citizen in 1846, and in 1853 he was appointed commissioner of Mexico to induce Mexicans in New Mexico to move to lands south of the Rio Grande. It was he who delivered possession of lands to the colony at Mesilla.

80. George Clinton Swallow (1817-99), native of Maine, geologist. In 1851, he became professor of geology, chemistry, and mineralogy at the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., and was state geologist of Missouri, 1853-61. In 1858, he demonstrated the existence of Permian rocks on the American continent.

81. Two were nominated by W. H. Brooks:

George Wilkins Kendall (1809-67), native of New Hampshire, journalist. At New Orleans (1837) he started an "audacious little sheet," the *Picayune*. In his *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition* (2 vols., 1844), he wrote up his unhappy experiences of 1841. He served during the Mexican War; and after several years in Europe, published *The War between the U. S. and Mexico* (1851). His last years were spent on a ranch in Texas.

Jared Sparks (1789-1866), native of Conn., editor and historian. Called to Harvard in 1838, "Sparks was the first professor of history other than ecclesiastical in any university of the U. S." In 1849, he was made president and served until his death. He is best known for his research in the American Revolutionary period, and especially on George Washington.

82. John Cabell Breckenridge (1821-75), native of Kentucky, soldier and statesman. At this time, he was vice-president of the U. S. (1857-61) and therefore presiding officer of the senate.

83. We shall find seven later additions to this list of honorary members: William Carr Lane, Colonel Bonneville, Col. J. D. Graham, John R. Bartlett, Gov. William Gilpin, Colonel Grayson, and the Hon. Charles Bulling. Also the following list of corresponding members will be extended by sixteen names.

The following Gentlemen were proposed, and unanimously elected Corresponding members of this Society, viz:

Hon. W. H. Davis ⁸⁴	}	Proposed by W. H. Brooks	
E. Meriam			
Judge S. Hart ⁸⁵		" "	Dr. Sloan
Hon. M. A. Otero ⁸⁶	}	" " C. P. Clever	
Dr. J. Letterman			
Capt. J. Macomb ⁸⁷		" "	Z. Staab
Dr. J. S. Newberry ⁸⁸		" "	D. V. Whiting
Prof. H. C. Baird ⁸⁹		" "	Maj. J. L. Donaldson
Maj. J. H. Carleton ⁹⁰		" "	K. Benedict
Dr. J. F. Hammond ⁹¹		" "	Lieut. J. D. Wilkins

84. William Watts Hart Davis, native of Pennsylvania, entered the Mexican War as a private and rose to the rank of captain. In 1853 he was appointed U. S. attorney for New Mexico; and in 1854-57 was Territorial secretary, eleven months of which time he served as governor. He is well known for two books: *El Gringo* (N. Y., 1856) and *Spanish Conquest of New Mexico* (Doylestown, Pa., 1869). His Civil War service brought him a brevet as brigadier general.

E. Meriam (Merriam), Esq., has not been identified beyond the meager data in these records. He was "of Brooklyn," sent them a copy of the New York *Municipal Gazette*, and one letter evidenced an interest in meteorology,—it was referred to that section for reply.

85. Simeon Hart was already a resident of "Franklin," Texas, in Sept. 1851, when Chaplain H. W. Read reported that, near his house, he was "erecting a stone flouring and saw mill." Ten years later, he was called "a wealthy miller and merchant" and was said to have aided the Confederates more than all the other capitalists. Then (as here) he was given the title "Judge." That he was generous is indicated by his gift to the Society of \$100.00.

86. The Hon. Miguel A. Otero was, at this time, serving his third term as delegate to congress. He is too well known to need an extended note here. Sometime after 1857, he took the Masonic degrees at Santa Fé.

Dr. Jonathan Letterman (1824-72), native of Pa., is best known as "organizer of the field medical service of the Union Army in the Civil War." He took his medical degree at Philadelphia in 1849 and was appointed assistant surgeon of the U. S. Army. Then for twelve years his service was largely in the Southwest "with troops engaged in intermittent warfare with Navajos, Apaches, and Utes." The naming (1911) of the large military hospital in San Francisco the "Letterman General Hospital" was to honor the man "who revolutionized the system of care of the wounded upon the battlefield."

87. John Navarre Macomb, native of New York, graduated from West Point in 1828. He served first with the artillery branch, then with the topographical engineers, and by August 1851 had risen to captain. His *Report of an Exploring Expedition from Santa Fé, 1859* was not published until later (Washington, 1876), but the expedition was recent history in Santa Fé when he was thus honored. He was to serve on the Union side during the Civil War; was retired in 1882 and died on March 16, 1889.

88. John Strong Newberry (1822-92), was native of Connecticut but grew up in the Western Reserve. He distinguished himself as a geologist and paleontologist.

On motion of K. Benedict, J. Houghton Esq. was requested to deliver an address on the life, character and acts of Governor Bent.⁹²

There being no further business, the Society on motion adjourned.

David V. Whiting

Rec. Secretary

Second Regular Meeting

Santa Fé, New Mexico,

February 27th, 1860

The Society was called to order at the hour fixed by the By Laws.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and adopted without amendment or alteration.

After studying for his medical degree in Paris (1849-51), he returned to Cleveland Ohio, but was soon engaged in government surveys in the Far West. At Washington (1856) he became associated with the Smithsonian Institution; then was with the Ives expedition (1857-58), and in 1859 was geologist on the topographical survey under Capt. J. N. Macomb, exploring northwest from Santa Fé.

89. Henry Carey Baird (1825-1912), native of Pa., publisher and economic writer. The firm which he started in 1849 "became the first publishing house in America to make a specialty of books on technical and industrial subjects." It was probably as a publisher that the Historical Society made him a corresponding member; his writings as an economist belong to a somewhat later period.

90. James Henry Carleton, native of Maine, began his military career as second lieutenant of the First U. S. Dragoons, and by 1847 had risen to the rank of captain, with brevet of major for gallantry, in the battle of Buena Vista. Prior to the Civil War, Carleton served as a captain with his regiment in New Mexico during the years 1854-57. When he was transferred to California is not known, but there in the summer of 1861 he was organizing the "California Column" with which he arrived in New Mexico in June 1862.

91. Apparently this was Dr. John Fox Hammond, native of South Carolina, who was commissioned assistant surgeon on Feb. 16, 1847. Where he was stationed at this time and why Lieut. Wilkins proposed him as a corresponding member is not clear. Dr. Hammond was later remarkable as a Southerner who went through the Civil War on the Union side: commissioned major surgeon on Feb. 26, 1861, and brevetted lieutenant colonel, Mar. 13, 1865, for faithful and meritorious service during the war. He retired in 1884 and died on Sept. 29, 1886.

92. Benedict had not arrived in New Mexico until 1853, six years after the killing of Gov. Charles Bent in Taos, whereas Houghton had arrived in 1844 and (as chief justice, 1846-52) had been closely associated with Bent. Unfortunately he seems not to have prepared this address. For a biographical sketch of Bent, *vide* P. A. F. Walter, "The first civil governor of New Mexico under the Stars and Stripes," in N. M. HIST. REV., VIII (April 1933), 98-129.

Applications for membership were received from the following [25] persons, viz:

Donaciano Vigil⁹³
 A. H. Pfeiffer⁹⁵
 Juan Perea⁹⁷
 Rev. J. Salpointe⁹⁹
 W. Zeckendorf
 A. Armijo¹⁰²
 C. Rite¹⁰⁴
 E. T. Bucknam¹⁰⁶
 W. Debus¹⁰⁸
 A. De Marle¹¹⁰
 E. Brevoort¹¹²
 Louis Gold¹¹⁴

P. J. Eyre⁹⁴
 S. Rosenstein⁹⁶
 Rev. Ramon Medina⁹⁸
 S. A. Hubbell¹⁰⁰
 J. W. Dunn¹⁰¹
 Jacob Amberg¹⁰³
 José L. Perea¹⁰⁵
 F. L. Russ¹⁰⁷
 J. Nangle¹⁰⁹
 R. Jones¹¹¹ U. S. A.
 L. W. O'Bannon,¹¹³ U. S. A.
 F. P. Abreu¹¹⁵

Rev. J. A. Truchard¹¹⁶

93. Donaciano Vigil (1802-77), native of Santa Fé, for many years had been an able and distinguished citizen. In Sept. 1846, Kearny had appointed him Territorial secretary; after the killing of Bent, Vigil was civil governor for nearly two years. For his biography, *vide* R. E. Twitchell, *The military occupation of New Mexico, 1846-51*, 207-228.

94. P. J. Eyre has not been found outside of these records. And the only other mention here is his assignment to the section on natural history.

95. Albert Henry Pfeiffer was sub-agent for the Ute and Jicarilla Apache Indians from about 1858 to 1871; how much earlier he had arrived in New Mexico is not known, but between 1857 and 1864 he had received the Masonic degrees in Santa Fé. He was to serve against the Texan invasion of 1862; the estimate of a contemporary (A. A. Hayes) is of interest. Writing of the First New Mexico Volunteers which fought at Valverde, Hayes said: "The lieutenant-colonel and acting commander was Kit Carson; the major, J. F. Chaves, and one of the captains, Albert F. Pfeiffer, a very paladin of the frontier,—a mild mannered, blue eyed, kindly man and, in the estimation of his fellows, probably the most desperately courageous and successful Indian fighter in the West." (Twitchell, *Old Santa Fé*, 375, note) Carson has been given the credit for crushing the Navahos in 1863 at the Cañon de Chelly,—but it was Pfeiffer with his troop who went right through that cañon from end to end.

96. Simon Rosenstein was a civilian, trader and merchant, to whom we have only one reference outside of these minutes. On Nov. 16, 1849, Percy M. Weightman on behalf of his client of this name addressed a letter to Colonel Munroe, complaining of treatment received from the military at Albuquerque. After being held in jail overnight without food or bedding, Rosenstein was blindfolded, taken to another room and there tied, stripped and scourged. (*Congressional Globe*, under date March 15, 1852, Weightman in house of representatives denouncing military rule in New Mexico.)

97. Juan Estévan Perea was born (1802) in Corrales, New Mexico but established his own home in Padillas. He was prominent from the 1820's as a member of successive deputations and assemblies; as an officer of militia; as a man of wealth and business interests. In later years, he was called simply "Juan Perea." He was the father of Col. José Francisco Perea. In the legislative assembly of Dec. 1847, he was one of two members of the house from Bernalillo county, a signer of the memorial of Oct. 10, 1848, to congress; and a member again of the 2nd and 7th assemblies.

98. The Rev. Ramón Medina was a native of New Mexico who made his studies in the diocese and was ordained a priest on Feb. 16, 1856. (Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross*, 208)

99. The Rev. J. B. Salpointe was one of fourteen religious brought from France to New Mexico in 1859. He spoke no English when they arrived in Santa Fé, Oct. 27, 1859; yet here, exactly four months later, he is asking membership in the new Historical Society! (*vide* Salpointe, *op. cit.*, 219) He was elected at the March meeting,—and had already donated some beautiful fossils from “El Rancho de la Luz.”

100. Sydney A. Hubbell was from Bernalillo county, member of the lower house in Dec. 1854 and Dec. 1855, and of the council in Dec. 1860. He was associate justice for the second district from 1861 to 1867. He was a member of the Masonic lodge in Santa Fé before 1864.

101. J. W. Dunn has not been identified.

102. Ambrosio Armijo had risen to distinction during the Mexican period. In the fall of 1832 he was elected deputy from New Mexico to congress in Mexico City (though he did not go because of a revolution); in the fall of 1843, he was one of nineteen forming the electoral college; in the summer of 1846 he was *jefe de hacienda*. After the American Occupation, he was recognized as one of those who controlled political affairs in Bernalillo county. In 1852, he made a sheep drive to California by the Gila route, losing 1,100 on the way.

103. Jacob Amberg is another about whom we have little definite information. Possibly it was he and Albert Elsberg (*vide* note 25, *supra*) who, as partners in business, started an attachment suit in the district court at Mesilla on June 4, 1861. The case was continued from September to May 1862, during the Confederate occupation. (N. M. HIST. REV., VI, 271, 291) Amberg received the Masonic degrees at Santa Fé sometime after 1857.

104. C. Rite has not been identified. There was no one at the March meeting who was willing to vouch for him, so he was not elected.

105. José Leandro Perea was a brother of Juan Perea (*vide* note 97, *supra*) and one of a family long identified with the Bernalillo valley. He was already of mature years in 1837 when we catch a first glimpse of him. (*Old Santa Fé*, II, 172, 392, with portrait) With S. M. Baird and one of the Armijos, he represented Bernalillo county in the house of the first legislative assembly (June and Dec., 1851). On Aug. 28, 1860, he was president of the “General Convention” in Santa Fé which issued a broadside calling for volunteers to campaign against the hostile Navahos. (N. M. HIST. REV., IV, 409) In the Historical Society, after election in the March meeting he was assigned to the section on Indian races.

106. E. T. Bucknam has not been found outside of these records. In the minutes he is mentioned as “Mr.,” “Esq.,” and Capt.” And he is credited with three donations: a rupee of the East India Company; a silver button made by Zuñi Indians; and a chamois jacket made by Zuñis. His assignment was to the section on agriculture; apparently he attended no meetings.

107. F. L. Russ has been found only as a grand juror at Albuquerque in February 1863, for the hearing of treason trials in the third district court. In the Historical Society, he was elected at the next meeting, and was assigned to the section on meteorology and climatology.

108. Wendel Debus became a Mason at Santa Fé sometime between 1857 and 1864. After election to the Historical Society in March, he was assigned to the section on statistics.

109. Dr. Joseph W. Nangle was already a resident of Santa Fé in November 1846 when he reported to Colonel Price, the commanding officer, his suspicions that a revolt was brewing among the Mexicans. Later, on a memorial addressed to the president

and dated in Santa Fé on February 27, 1850, his name (though misread "Naugle") appears with many others, praying for adequate military protection against the prevalent murders and robberies. (Abel, ed., *op cit.*, 157-9) He was elected by the Historical Society in March 1860 and was assigned to the section on antiquities and collections, but later mention of him is only under "communications received."

110. Augustine De Marle was clerk of the Territorial supreme court (1856-59) and at the same time Territorial auditor (1856-61). An early imprint shows he was "public printer" in 1859. In the Historical Society he was assigned to the section on history; at the April '60 meeting was listed his donation of "a musical clock of curious mechanism." At this same meeting, he was elected curator and librarian *vice* W. J. Howard, resigned, and served to the next regular election.

111. R. Jones, U. S. A., was probably Lieut. Roger Jones, native of D. C. and graduate of West Point in 1847. He was a first lieutenant from Jan. 26, 1857; regimental adjutant July 1854 to March 1858. He was on the Union side during the Civil War and died in January 1889. In the Historical Society, he was elected at the March meeting but had to resign the very next month, and was made a corresponding member.

112. Elias Brevoort, by his own statement, came to New Mexico in 1850. In November 1851, he was 2nd lieut. of a volunteer company composed of the American citizens at Santa Fé, asking the governor for arms with which to be prepared against depredating Indians. (Abel, ed., *Corresp. of Jas. S. Calhoun*, 445-6) His *New Mexico, Her Natural Resources and Attractions* (printed and published by himself, Santa Fé 1874), was the earliest thing of its kind except the 100-page booklet which W. F. M. Army got out the year before. Brevoort was receiver of the U. S. land office in Santa Fé, 1877-81. R. E. Twitchell (*Story of Santa Fé*, 151 note) cited him as stating that Alphonse Pinart had purloined, directly or otherwise, many 18th century archives which he sold to H. H. Bancroft; while Bancroft (*Hist. of Ariz. and N. Mex.*, 791, note) places this stigma in part at least on Brevoort himself: "he has given me much aid in obtaining original material." It is these papers which are now in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Perhaps Brevoort attended no meeting of the Historical Society; he wrote several times, and his donation of the "scalp of an Apache chief" came from his address, "Hacienda del Reventon, N. M."

113. Laurence W. O'Bannon, native of South Carolina, was commissioned 2nd lieut., 3rd Inf., on March 3, 1848. He became 1st lieut. in Sept., 1855, and was regimental quartermaster from Feb., 1856, to Mar. 31, 1861, when he resigned his commission. He was a Confederate officer during the Civil War; he died on June 2, 1882. Like Lieutenant Jones, he had to resign from the Historical Society in April 1860 and was made a corresponding member.

114. Louis Gold arrived in Santa Fé before the American occupation. Reminiscing of "Santa Fé in 1837-38," the late Col. José Francisco Perea stated: "Louis Gould kept a store on San Francisco Street." (*Old Santa Fé*, II, 183) Probably he was related to John Gold who applied for membership in May, and to Jake Gold, curio dealer of the 1880's. We have not learned what relationship, if any, existed with George Gold, business man of Taos, who served for four terms in the legislative council (1851-55).

115. Francisco P. Abreu was doubtless a son of one of the three distinguished brothers, Santiago, Ramón, and Marcelino, of the Mexican period. Francisco himself won distinction in the 1860's. He was a captain in the First New Mexico Volunteers which fought at Valverde in 1862. He was probably with Carson at Fort Stanton; in the Navajo campaign to Cañon de Chelly; and at Fort Bascom. In the fight at Adobe Walls (fall of 1864), Abreu was colonel of the First New Mexico Volunteers and second to Carson in command,—the latter being colonel of the First N. Mex. Cavalry.

On motion, the regular order of business was suspended when Hon. K. Benedict introduced the following Resolutions, viz:

Resolved: That this Society shall not proceed to vote the application of any person for membership until the fee for admission shall be deposited with the Corresponding or Recording Secretary, or Librarian, or until at least one of the members recommending the petitioner or some other responsible member shall, in open meeting of the Society, pledge himself to pay the said fee in case of the election of the applicant, and presenting himself to subscribe the Constitution.

2d. That no person who shall be elected to the privilege of becoming a member of this Society shall be permitted by the Recording Secretary, to subscribe the Constitution unless the admission fee shall be in good faith paid at the time of such signing.

3d. The Constitution may be signed by proxy. Provided always, that the proxy shall be himself a member, and shall file with the Recording Secretary a written request or authority from the person for whom he signs, authorizing the attaching of his name to the Constitution.

On motion of Dr. W. J. Sloan, the Resolutions were voted upon separately, and unanimously adopted.

The following persons were elected members of this Society, viz:

Mr. S. K. Hodges	Mr. George T. Beall
Dr. S. A. Boice	Hon. A. J. Otero
Mr. W. A. Branford	Mr. F. Metzgar
Mr. John Ward	Hon. J. M. Gallegos
Hon. J. G. Gallegos	Mr. C. Blumner
Hon. A. P. Wilbar	Mr. Felipe Delgado
Dr. M. Steck	Lt. W. H. Bell
Mr. M. Ashurst	Mr. R. E. Clements

In the Historical Society, we find Abreu one of five members asked to recommend appropriate action regarding the address by the Rev. Mr. Gorman.

116. The Rev. J. Agustín Truchard was one of six young men brought from France in 1856; and on December 12 of that year at Santa Fé he received the priesthood. (Salpointe, *op cit.*, 208) He seems to have been "commissioner of schools" in Santa Fé county for a number of years,—he is so listed for 1877 and 1882; and this would indicate that his clerical duties were in or near Santa Fé. He returned to France because of failing health some years before 1898; B. M. Read (*Illustrated History of N. Mex.*, 578) shows a portrait of him, with 1911 as the date of his death.

Lt. R. V. Bonneau
 Mr. S. Ramirez
 Mr. B. Seligman
 Dr. J. M. Whitlock

Mr. J. Howe Watts
 Mr. Juan C. Tapia
 Mr. H. Ruhe
 Rev. Thos. Hayes

Rev. J. Lamy

On motion of the Rev. S. Gorman, the report of the Committee on Sections was ordered to lie over for another month.

The Committee of Arrangements submitted the following Report, viz:

The Committee of Arrangements respectfully reports:

That after the adoption of the design for a seal, at the last meeting, a copy was made and transmitted to New York to be engraved and that the Constitution and By Laws have been translated into Spanish and sent to St. Louis for publication.

A blank certificate of membership of the Maryland Historical Society has been received from the Corresponding Secretary of that Association and will be laid before the Society.

The hall now occupied was rented from Bishop Lamy, for the reasonable sum of Twelve Dollars per month, and in fitting it for occupation the Committee is indebted to the Bishop for material assistance.¹¹⁷ In the purchase of materials much liberality was shown by the merchants of Santa Fé, in both prices and contributions. Donations for these objects were made by Mr. Staab, Messrs. Webb and Kingsbury,¹¹⁸ D. V. Whiting, Bishop Lamy, Col. Grayson, Dr. Sloan and others. Aid was given in the transportation of the property by Major Donaldson and in the making of curtains by Misses Bonneville and Sloan.

117. It has been suggested that this hall was in the building on Cathedral Place directly across from the present rectory. Perhaps some of the older residents can verify this.

118. James Josiah Webb had been in the Santa Fé trade from 1844. He had partnerships successively with Geo. P. Doan (1845-49), William S. Messervy (1850-53), and John M. Kingsbury (1854-1861). Webb represented Santa Fé county in the lower legislative chamber (1856-57), but the following August he returned permanently to his Connecticut home, Kingsbury operating the business in Santa Fé until their firm was dissolved in May 1861. (R. P. Bieber, ed., *Adventures in the Santa Fé Trade, 1844-47*) Kingsbury's name appears twice in the Historical Society minutes. Both he and Webb were members of the Masonic lodge in Santa Fé, and Webb was also an Odd Fellow there.

The whole expense has been about \$175 and the bills paid. The Committee confidently point to its work as the best evidence of the economical expenditure of this amount of money. All the items of expenditure have been minutely set forth in the bills which have been approved by the Finance Committee.

Santa Fé February 27, 1860 signed Wm. J. Sloan
Chairman.

The Report was ordered to be filed.

The Librarian and Curator submitted the following Report, viz:

Santa Fé February 27, 1860

The following is the exhibit of donations received since the last meeting in January, viz:

From Dr. W. J. Sloan:

62 Bound Volumes, 5 Pamphlets, 15 Maps, 1 Microscope, 1 Continental bill issued in 1778 and 1 Sea Horse.

From Lieut. O. G. Wagner

5 Maps, 1 Colored Print

From D. V. Whiting

1 Unabridged Webster Dictionary, and an original paper, printed in Mexico in the year 1829, touching the expulsion of the Spaniards from the country.

From O. P. Hovey Esq.—1 Book

From Mr. H. O'Neil¹¹⁹

1 Copy of the Phoenix dated 1707

From Mr. C. B. Clark,¹²⁰ Albuquerque

1 Vol. Knickerbocker

From Col. J. B. Grayson

\$25 in money, 1 French Clock, 1 large Map U. S., a sword of the time of Chas. 3d of Spain, several bound volumes, and a bottle containing a very curious piece of mechanism.

From Mr. H. Mercure¹²¹

1 Birch Bark Canoe made by the Canadian Indians

119. Henry O'Neil affiliated with the Masonic lodge in Santa Fé in 1851. Possibly he is the O'Neil listed in 1858 among freighting contractors across the plains (Bieber and Hafen, eds., *Southwest Historical Series*, Index). He did not become a member of the Historical Society. The "Phoenix" sounds like an early newspaper but has not been identified.

120. C. B. Clark of Albuquerque has not been identified.

121. Henry Mercure and his brother Joseph had a store midway on the south side of the plaza in Santa Fé before 1854. Neither joined the Historical Society, but apparently Henry was interested, for he made later donations: mineral specimens from

From Rev. Mr. Salpoint

1 Incrustation, from Cleremont, France

From Hon. A. M. Jackson¹²²

The original Coat of Arms that was attached to the Executive office of General Armijo

From Mr. L. Spiegelberg

2 Mahogany Picture Frames

From W. J. Howard Esq.

1 Glass Show Case, 28 Specimens of Fossils, 30 Specimens of Minerals, 1 Large Tarantula, 1 Centipede and 1 Portrait of Washington

From Mr. E. P. Curtis¹²³

A specimen of Silver ore from Corralitos, Chihuahua

From Bishop Lamy

Specimens of Bituminous Coal and Sulphate of lime from El Rancho de la Luz

From Mr. Jean Bouquet¹²⁴

A specimen of Gray sandstone cut and polished

From Dr. M. Steck

A specimen of Anthracite Coal, from Santa Bárbara, N. M.

Abiquiú and vicinity, and "three spurs, used by the first explorers of the San Juan mines."

122. Alexander M. Jackson, native of Ireland, was appointed from Mississippi (Sept. 16, 1857) by President Buchanan to be Territorial secretary of New Mexico. He has been called "a virulent secessionist," and was one of those who left in the spring of 1861 to join the Confederacy—and shortly after, took an active hand in the Confederate set-up at Mesilla. After the Civil War, he made his home in Austin, Texas. He did not affiliate with the Historical Society, but this was an interesting donation—not to be confused with the carved stones mentioned below in the March minutes.

123. E. P. Curtis, not identified. His donation suggests some connection with mining or with the trade.

124. Jean Bouquet was a Frenchman who, sometime between 1855 and 1881, built up a fruit ranch near Pojuaque pueblo, 16 miles north of Santa Fé. He was not there in 1855, else W. W. H. Davis would have mentioned it when he stopped at the creek for a brief nooning enroute to Taos (*El Gringo*, 303); whereas Lieut. J. G. Bourke in his notes of 1881 speaks repeatedly of Bouquet, his Mexican wife, and negress servant. Bouquet's had then become a kind of station for north and south travel,—and tourists were already numerous.

Bouquet did not join the Historical Society but made several donations of mineral specimens.

From R. Frank Green Esq.

Specimens of Copper Ore from Santa Rita, N. M.

From Mr. I. A. Hill

A beautiful fossil of the *Ancella Crassicolis*, a piece of Galena, and a specimen of Green Carbonate of Copper

From Mr. Henry O'Neil

A specimen containing dodecahedral garnets

From Mr. A. P. Wilbar

A specimen of Chrystalized Salt, from Salt Lake, Utah

Subscriptions have been presented, as donations to the Society, by Lieut. O. G. Wagner, for the present volume of the "Atlantic Monthly," and from D. V. Whiting, the "Scientific American."

Very Respectfully submitted

signed W. J. Howard

The Report was ordered to be filed.

The Committee appointed to procure a charter of Incorporation submitted the following Report, viz:

The Committee appointed to procure an Act of Incorporation for the Society, have the honor to report, that they were completely successful, the bill passing both Houses promptly and unanimously.

Owing to the limited period of time before the adjournment of the Legislature the original bill was roughly drawn up, but the Committee have made arrangements to have it engrossed in a more ornamental form for framing.

The Original bill, as it passed the Legislature, is in possession of the Society, to be placed in its archives, if they so desire.

The bill accompanies this Report.

(signed) W. H. Brooks, Chairman

A Bill

to be entitled

An Act, to incorporate the Historical Society of
New Mexico.

Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of New
Mexico:

Section 1. That W. J. Howard, D. V. Whiting, Jno. B. Grayson, C. P. Clever, Dr. Wm. J. Sloan, Jesus Ma Sena y Baca, S. M. Baird and Pedro Valdez, and all persons who are now, or may hereafter become associated with them, as members of the said Association be, and they are hereby created into a body politic and corporate in law and in fact, by the name, style and title of the

Historical Society of New Mexico, and by this name shall have perpetual succession, and may sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded in any court of law or equity; to hold and reserve to them and their successors either by grant, bargain, sale, will, gift, devise or otherwise, any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, or any real or personal estate, and at their pleasure to grant, bargain or sell, for the use of said association, and generally to do all and singular the things which it may be lawful for them to do, for the welfare of the said Association.

Section 2. That the objects of said Society shall be, the collection and preservation, under their own care and direction, of all historical facts, manuscripts, documents, records and memoirs relating to the history of this Territory, geographical maps and information, geological and mineralogical specimens, Indian curiosities and antiquities, and objects of natural history.

Section 3. That it shall be lawful for the Historical Society of New Mexico to provide itself with a seal, the device of which the same shall determine, and at its pleasure may alter, change or renew as it may think proper, and shall have and exercise all the rights and privileges necessary for the purposes of the corporation hereby constituted, and as herein specified.

Section 4. That said Society shall have power to form a constitution and adopt by-laws for its own government. Provided: they do not conflict with the second section of this Act, or the Constitution and laws of the United States, or of this Territory.

Section 5. The Legislative Assembly hereby reserves to itself the right of repealing or annulling this Charter, if it should appear at any time to the interest of the public good that this should be done.

Section 6. That this act shall take effect, and be in force from and after its passage.

(signed) José G. Gallegos
Presidente del Consejo

(signed) Celso Cuellar Medina
Presidente de la Càmara
de Representantes

Approved Feb. 1, 1860

A. Rencher
Gov. N. Mexico

The report was ordered to be filed and

The following Resolutions were introduced by W. J. Howard Esq. and unanimously adopted.

Whereas It appears expedient that this Society, as an organization—having applied for and obtained an Act of Incorporation from the Legislature of this Territory, be it therefore

Resolved: That the Historical Society of New Mexico do hereby accept the said *Act* as our Charter of Incorporation.

Resolved: That this Society as now fully organized, do hereby ratify and assume all the obligations which the Society, under the general act incurred, and assume the possession of all the property of the Society remaining in possession of its several Officers, and all debts and dues owing to the Society aforesaid.

Resolved: That the original Charter, as obtained from the Legislature, be carefully deposited in some secure *Safe*, and that a copy of the same be made, both in English and Spanish, and placed in the rooms of the Society.

The following Resolution was introduced by the Rev. Sam'l Gorman, and unanimously adopted.

Resolved: That we, the Historical Society of N. M. place ourselves under the act of incorporation passed by the Legislature of this Territory, approved Feb. 1, 1860 with the Constitution and By Laws under which this Society organized on the 26th December 1859.

On motion of C. P. Clever, Esq. a committee of Five members was appointed to revise the 6th Article of the Constitution and to report thereon this Evening.

Messrs. Clever, Howard, Gorman, Wagner and Whiting were appointed said Committee.

After a short recess the Committee submitted the following report, viz:

The Committee appointed to revise the 6th Article of the Constitution, beg leave to report, That they suggest that the 1st Section of that article be stricken out and the following be submitted in its stead.

Section 1. To render effective the action of the Society, it shall be divided into permanent sections, each section to be composed of a number of members proportionate to the whole number of members of the Society, the President of the Society assigning each member to some one of the particular sections. Each section to choose its own chairman.

These sections shall be designated as follows

1. The Section on History
2. " " " Geography
3. " " " Indian Races
4. " " " Geology and Mineralology
5. " " " Antiquities and Collections
6. " " " Natural History
7. " " " Agriculture
8. " " " Statistics
9. " " " Botany
10. " " " Biography
11. " " " Meteorology and Climatology

And such others as the society may hereafter designate.

This amendment under the rule lies over until the next regular meeting.

On motion of Mr. Brooks, the Committee of Arrangements was instructed to procure, and place in the rooms the likeness of the Governors of this Territory, who held Office before and after its session to the United States if they can be had. Also the likenesses of the Presidents of this Society.

On motion of Mr. Brooks the Hon. S. M. Baird was requested to deliver an address on the life and character of General Armijo, formerly Governor of this Territory.¹²⁵

125. Manuel Armijo, the former three-times-governor of New Mexico, had died at his home in Lemitar on Dec. 9, 1853. He has been confused unfortunately with another man of the same name who, during the Civil War, gave considerable help to the Confederates. (see note 145 below.) This address was not delivered, probably not even prepared.

Communications were read from Messrs. Clark, E. T. Brevoort, Sheppard,¹²⁶ J. M. Bell,¹²⁷ Welby¹²⁸ and Truchard, in answer to the Corresponding Secretary's circular.

A communication was read from the Hon. S. Hart¹²⁹ of El Paso, enclosing a donation of One Hundred Dollars, for the benefit of the Society. Also one from Col. Grayson donating Twenty five Dollars and sundry articles of furniture and books, mentioned in the Curator's report.

Communications were received from Rev. E. A. Dalrymple Corr. Sec. Maryland Historical Society, and N. Holmes Corr. Sec. of the Academy of Science of St. Louis enclosing blank Diplomas.

The Hon. Wm. Carr Lane of St. Louis, formerly Governor of this Territory was elected an Honorary member of this Society and

Rev. E. A. Dalrymple Corr. Sec. of the His. Soc. of Maryland and Nathaniel Holmes Esq. Corr. Sec. of the Academy of Science of St. Louis were elected Corresponding members.

A communication was read from Col. B. L. E. Bonneville¹³⁰ U. S. A. covering a copy of the official report of the first interview of Cortes with Montezuma, in Spanish.

On motion of Lieut. Wagner a special meeting of the Society was ordered to be held on the evening of Thursday, the 8th day of March, for the purpose of hearing an address by Col. John B. Grayson, on the life, character and services of the late Genl. Kearney, and that the Ladies and gentlemen of Santa Fé be invited to attend.

On motion of Lieut. Wagner, it was moved that the Committee of Arrangements be authorized to make such dispositions as shall to them seem proper, to secure to the members of this Society access to its rooms during the day.

126. Sheppard, not identified.

127. J. M. Bell, not identified,—unless it was Joseph McC. Bell who was a member of the Masonic lodge in Santa Fé between 1857 and 1864.

128. Welby, not identified.

129. See note 85, *supra*.

130. Benj. L. E. Bonneville, native of France, entered West Point from New York and graduated in 1813. He served through the Mexican War and in 1855 was colonel 3rd Infantry. In 1856 he took over from Col. Garland as commandant of the Department of New Mexico; he in turn was relieved by Col. Fauntleroy in 1859. He was retired on Sept. 9, 1861; date of his death was June 12, 1878.

At this time, he was still stationed in Santa Fé. He applied for membership in the Society in March and was elected in April. The very next month, he had to resign; was elected an honorary member and was requested to present the Society with his ambrotype. Some communication from him was read at the September meeting and referred to the section on geography.

The following Resolutions were by permission introduced by Hon. K. Benedict and unanimously adopted, viz:

Resolved: That the beneficent donations of Hon. S. Hart and Col. Grayson to this Society and the highly honorable and delicate terms in which their communications were made to the Corresponding Secretary command the admiration and profound respect of the members of this Association.

Resolved: That the Secretary furnish a copy of these resolutions to each of said gentlemen.

The Society then, on motion adjourned.

David V. Whiting
Rec. Secy.

Special Meeting

Santa Fé New Mexico
March 8th, 1860

In pursuance of a Resolution adopted at the last regular meeting of this Society, it was called to order by Col. W. A. Street Vice President, and an address delivered by Col. J. B. Grayson on the life character and public acts of the late Br. Maj Genl S. W. Kearney U. S. A.¹³¹ before a large assembly of the members of the Society and the ladies and citizens of the city, which was also read in the Spanish language by D. V. Whiting, after which the Society

On motion adjourned.

David V. Whiting
Rec Secy

Third Regular Meeting

Santa Fé New Mexico
Monday Evening
March 26, 1860

The Society was called to order at the appointed time, The President in the Chair.

131. Stephen Watts Kearny, after his services in New Mexico and California, was on duty at Vera Cruz, Mexico, when he was stricken with yellow fever; he was brought back to New Orleans but died Oct. 31, 1848. Grayson later deposited with the Society a copy of his address, but we do not know that it is extant.

The minutes of the last regular meeting and of the special meeting held on the evening of March 8th were read and approved.

Applications for membership were received from Col. B. L. E. Bonneville, Hon. Sylvester Mowry,¹³² Col. Ceran St. Vrain,¹³³ and Messrs. F. W. Jones¹³⁴ and R. G. Campbell.¹³⁵

132. Sylvester Mowry, native of Rhode Island, graduated from West Point in 1848 and was assigned to the artillery branch. In March 1855, he was first lieutenant; resigned his commission July 31, 1858. He died Oct. 17, 1871. From his arrival in the Southwest (1855), he definitely identified himself with "Arizona." He soon acquired the famous Patagonia silver mine in the Santa Cruz mountains; he became a rabid advocate of exterminating the Apaches; and an ardent supporter of the "proposed Territory of Arizona." He was active in a convention at Tucson (Sept. 1857) and went to Washington as delegate-elect; he addressed a similar convention at Mesilla (June 1859) and was endorsed for re-election. In New York City on Feb. 3, 1859, Mowry had addressed the American Geographical and Statistical Society on "The Geography and Resources of Arizona and Sonora" (later published by the society in Washington).

Possibly Mowry was in Santa Fé in March 1860, on his way home from Washington; for early in April a complete provisional government for the proposed Territory was being formed in Tucson. At Tucson in 1861, Mowry was publishing the *Arizona* which showed his secession tenets by an attack (Mar. 9, 1861) on President Lincoln. In the debacle of the Confederate invasion in 1862, Mowry was captured at his mine and for some time was held a prisoner at Yuma. His writings are important early imprints of the Southwest. (see Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 516-7)

133. Céran St. Vrain (1802-70), native of Missouri, Santa Fé trader, pioneer merchant, soldier, came first to Taos in March 1825. Apparently he did not himself go on the "St. Vrain's Gila expedition" of 1826, but equipped many of the trappers who did go. In 1826-28, he was clerking for Sylvester Pratte; in 1831-47, he was partner of Charles Bent. He had become a Mexican citizen and (1844) with Cornelio Vigil received a 4,000,000 acre land grant (later confirmed by the U. S. government) on the northeastern frontier. He was captain of a volunteer company which helped crush the Taos revolt (Jan. 1847); and was lieutenant colonel in 1854-55 when the Utes and Apaches made trouble. Because of age, he did not serve in the Civil War. He became a Mason at Santa Fé sometime between 1857 and 1864. He married at Mora, and had his home there,—where he died on Oct. 28, 1870. (Stella Drumm in *Dict. of Am. Biog.*)

134. F. W. Jones, not identified. He was elected at the next meeting, but there is no other mention of him.

135. R. G. Campbell, not identified. Elected in April, two months later his status was changed to that of corresponding member. In October, he was referred to as "of Fort Clark." No such military or trading post in New Mexico is known. This could not have been Richard Campbell (probate judge of Doña Ana county), for he died in February 1860; but there was a son Richard who lived in Santa Fé.

The following persons were elected members of this Society, viz:

Rev. R. Medina	Messrs. Ambrosio Armijo
" J. Salpointe	" Donaciano Vigil
" J. L. Truchard	E. Brevoort
Lieut. L. W. OBannon	L. Gold
" R. Jones	F. P. Abreu
Messrs. J. Amberg	A. H. Pfeiffer
F. L. Russ	José L. Perea
S. Rosenstein	P. J. Eyre
A. DeMarle	Jos. Nangle
Wendel Debus	E. T. Bucknam
J. W. Dunn	W Zeckendorf
Juan Perea	S. A. Hubbell

The application of C. Rite, was not acted upon, there being no one present willing to vouch for him.

The Amendment offered to the Constitution at the last meeting was taken up and on motion, unanimously adopted.

The Committee of Arrangements submitted the following report, which was ordered to be filed, viz:

Rooms of the Hist. Soc. of N. M.

Santa Fé March 26, 1860

The Committee of Arrangements begs leave, respectfully to report,

That 200 Copies of the Constitution and By Laws in English, two Receipt Books and one Warrant Book have been received from St. Louis, the cost, and transportation by overland mail amounting to \$100.00. Twenty five copies of the Constitution and By Laws bound in calf, and gilt were received and the Committee took the responsibility of disposing of them to those members who desired copies, at \$1.50 ea. in aid of the payment of the bill. Sixteen copies have thus been disposed of.

The Committee has also ordered from Knapp & Co. two hundred blank certificates of membership.

signed W. J. Sloan Chairman
Corr. Sec.

The Librarian and Curator submitted the following Report, which was also ordered to be filled—viz:

Santa Fé March 26, 1860

The following donations have been received since the last meeting, from various sources, viz:

From Col. J. B. Grayson, \$10 in money, 4 chairs and a fine specimen of foetid Lime stone.

From Rev. Bishop Lamy, 3 vols. Encyclopedia of Geography.

From Mr. Jos. Beuthner, Taos, the ear of an Arapahoe Indian, ornamented with beads.

From Mr. Henry Ruhe, one highly finished Picture Frame.

From Mr. L. Felsenthal, one rare skin of an unknown animal.

From Mr. James Mackling,¹³⁶ five specimens of Lizzards preserved in alcohol, A Buffalo horn, and two specimens of Minerals.

From Dr. W. J. Sloan, two Photographic views of the Washington Aqueduct, and a folio of Preserved plants found in New Mexico.

From Rev. J. Salpointe several beautiful specimens of Fossils from "El Rancho de la Luz."

From W. J. Howard, 1 Vol. Santa Fe Gazette for 1859, 1 Vol. Harpers Weekly for 1859, Specimens of Pueblo pottery from the ruins at Inscription Rock, Los Cañones, Abiquiu, San Juan and Pecos, stone arrow points from Los Cañones and Pecos.

From Mr. C. P. Clever a letter from the President of the Republic of Mexico to General Armijo dated 1846, and six Coins.

From Mr. Z. Staab an ambrotype of José Calixto Borrego the Mexican dwarf.

In addition to the above there have been donated the following Coins, viz:

From W. J. Howard, a rare copper coin struck for the French Colony in Louisiana during the reign of Louis XV.

¹³⁶. James Mackling, not identified.

One U. S. silver Dollar 1795, with sixteen stars, very rare. Half Dollars of 1795, 1806, 1807. Gold 1-4 Dollar of California, private issue. 1 Medalette of General Scott. 2 rare silver dollars of Mexico bearing the bust of Agustinus 1.¹³⁷ 1 Mexican Gold Dollar, 7 Mexican Copper Coins, 4 Spanish Silver Dollars, 1 Peruvian Dollar, 1 Silver penny of Geo. 3d of England, and 8 various U. S. cents.

From Col. J. B. Grayson, 1 silver coin of Peru—1 silver U. S. Dollar.

From Mr. B. Koch, 1 silver Prussian Thaler.

From Mr. Geo. T. Beall, 1 silver Bavarian Thaler.

From Mr. J. Kingsbury, 3 silver English Coins and 1 of the East India Co.

From Mr. L. DeLange 4 French Coins.

From Mr. L. Louer¹³⁸ 1 Bavarian Dollar, bust of Maximilian 2d.

From Mr. E. T. Bucknam, 1 Rupee of the East India Co. and a silver button manufactured by the Zuñi Indians.

From Mr. A. B. Dittenhoffer,¹³⁹ 1 medal of the City Hall, New York.

From Mr. C. Thayer,¹⁴⁰ 1 silver Coin of Zacatecas.

From Mr. R. E. Clements¹⁴¹ 1 large Copper Coin of Brazil.

From Mr. W. Zeckendorf 1 U. S. half cent, 1825.

From Mr. C. Velten¹⁴² 4 Coins.

From Mr. J. Cummings,¹⁴³ 1 Copper Coin of Napoleon III, the whole amounting to 59 Coins.

137. The latin form of the imperial title assumed in July 1822 by Agustín de Iturbide.

138. L. Louer, not identified.

139. A. B. Dittenhoffer, not identified.

140. Charles Lawrence Thayer, born at Milton, Mass., in 1823; started for the California gold fields in 1849 via New Orleans, St. Louis, Santa Fé, and El Paso. There he was robbed and, financially stranded, returned to Santa Fé in June 1850. He was still living there in 1907. *History of N. Mex.* (Pacific States Publ. Co., 1907). II, 642.

141. R. E. Clements, not identified. See note 41, *supra*.

142. C. Velten, not identified.

143. J. Cummings possibly was the James Cummings who lived (1852) in the Manzano mountains, fifty miles from Tomé, Valencia county, where his presence as a witness in district court was desired.

In conclusion, I beg leave to acknowledge as a donation the coming volume of the Historical Magazine from the gentlemanly publisher, Mr. C. B. Richard of New York City.

The Recording Secretary submitted the following Report of the Financial condition of the Society, which was also ordered to be filed—viz:

Society's Rooms
Santa Fé New Mexico

March 26, 1860.

The sixth section of Article 3d requires the Corresponding Secretary to report quarterly on the condition of the Treasury. I have the honor to submit the following as the condition of the Treasury at the present time, viz:

The receipts of the Society from its organization to date,	
amount to the total sum of	\$428.00
The disbursements amount to	224.62
Leaving a balance in the Treasury of	\$203.38

The receipts have arisen as follows, viz:

Initiation or Entrance fees	230.00	
Donations from Hon. Hart		
100.00 Col. Grayson	35.00	135.00
Constitutions sold	15.00	
Dues	48.00	428.00

The disbursements have been as follows, viz:

To Beck and Johnson—Blank Books	26.25	
To A. Habercorn ¹⁴⁴ Printing	13.00	
To M. Armijo 46.88 ¹⁴⁵ Beck &		
Johnson 11.50 W. J. Sloan	31.30	
To Z. Staab 19.19 H. Ruhe	39.00	
S. Delgado	12.00	
To D. V. Whiting	25.40	185.37
		224.62

Of the members elected at the last meeting, there are 15 who have not yet signed the Constitution; of these, three

144. A. Habercorn, not identified.

145. If this was Manuel Armijo, it was not the former governor who had died in 1853; but may have been a nephew and later friend of the Confederates. (See note 125, *supra*)

have paid their entrance fee, leaving 11 exclusive of the applications acted upon this evening whose fees will amount to 55.00

Of the original signers to the Constitution one has not paid the entrance fee 5.00 60.00

The amount of back dues unpaid is 25.00

The dues for the present month amount to 38.00

which will be increased \$15.00 more if it is decided that dues are to be paid from date of election instead of the time of signing the Constitution.

Constitutions delivered but not yet paid for 9.00
amounting to \$132.00

which with balance in Treasury 203.38
will leave at the disposal of the Society the sum of \$335.38

From which is to be paid, the printing of the Constitution and blank books, and their transportation, the estimated amount of \$110.00

leaving 225.38

Accounts audited by the Com. of Finance, but not yet paid 17.00

Net unappropriated amount available 208.38

Respectfully submitted

David V. Whiting

Rec. Sec and Ex Off Treas.

On motion, the Report of the Committee on sections was taken up, and laid on the table indefinitely and the Committee discharged from any further consideration of the subject.

The Recording Secretary was instructed to furnish the President with a list of the members of the Society, to aid him in making selections for the several sections.

The following Resolution was introduced by Lieut. J. D. Wilkins and unanimously adopted, viz:

Resolved, That the Corresponding Secretary in the name of the Society, requests permission from Don Anastacio Sandoval and Don Agustin Duran, to place among the archives of the Society, two stones on which are cut the arms of Mexico, now in their possession.¹⁴⁶

On motion of Judge Benedict, Col. Grayson was requested to deposit in the archives of the Society, the original manuscript of the able and eloquent address on the life and character of Brigadier Genl. S. W. Kearney.

Letters were read from Mr. Jos. Beuthner, Revs J. Coudere,¹⁴⁷ T. Hayes, Dr. B. J. D. Irwin,¹⁴⁸ Hon. S. Mowry, Lieut. W. H. Bell, Dr. J. H. Bill,¹⁴⁹ Secy. Smithsonian Institution, Dr. M. Steck, Dr. J. M. Whitlock, Messrs. Hayward & McGrorty,¹⁵⁰ Knapp & Co., and Mr. S. Ramirez.

On motion of Lieut. Wilkins the resolution instructing the Com. of Arrangements to procure the likenesses of the Governors of this Territory was made to embrace those of Albino Perez, Genl. Armijo, Genl. Martinez, Govs. Bent, Vigil, Calhoun, Lane, Meriwether and Rencher.

The following Resolution was introduced by K. Benedict and adopted—viz:

146. Anastacio Sandoval, at this time, was probate judge (1858-63). Prior to the American Occupation, Agustín Durán had been chief of the customs house; what office, if any, he held in 1860 is not known. One of these carved stones showing the Mexican coat of arms seems to have survived the vicissitudes of a century and is now the property of the Historical Society.

147. The Rev. Joseph M. Coudert was one of the six young men who came from France to Santa Fé in 1856, and was one of four who received the priesthood on December 12 of that year. (Salpointe, *op. cit.*, 208, 282).

148. Bernard John Dowling Irwin, native of Ireland, entered military service, Aug. 28, 1856, as assistant surgeon; in 1894 (*sic*) he was awarded a medal of honor for distinguished gallantry in action against Chiricahua Apaches in February 1861.

149. Joseph Howland Bill, native of Pennsylvania, was commissioned assistant surgeon on Apr. 13, 1860; he won brevets as major and lieutenant-colonel during the Civil War; and died July 21, 1885.

150. Hayward & McGrorty are thought to be George A. Hayward and William McGrorty who went south when the Civil War began; the names of both are found among jurors in the Confederate court records of Doña Ana county 1861-62. (*N. M. Hist. Rev.*, VI, 261-301). Also McGrorty acted as agent, sent in Dec. 1861 to New York by Colonel Baylor, to try to cash the federal drafts "captured" at Fort Fillmore. (Twitchell, *Leading Facts* . . . II, 364, note). They may have been merchants in Santa Fé in 1860. McGrorty had affiliated with the Masonic lodge there in 1851, bringing his dimit from a lodge in Kentucky.

Resolved: That the Corresponding Secretary be instructed to send to Genl. Garland ¹⁵¹ and Col. Sumner ¹⁵² U. S. A. an invitation to send their ambrotypes to be suspended in the rooms of the His. Society.

Baldwin Mollhausen,¹⁵³ and Dr. Livingstone ¹⁵⁴ were elected Corresponding members of this Society.

On motion, the Committee of Arrangements was instructed to submit the names of several magazines and periodicals for the selection of the Society..

The Society then, on motion adjourned.

David V. Whiting

Recording Secretary

Fourth Regular Meeting

Santa Fé New Mexico

April 30, 1860

The Society was called to order at the appointed hour. The President in the Chair.

The minutes of the last stated meeting were read and approved.

Applications for membership were received from Messrs. Wm. M. Moore,¹⁵⁵ B. L. Rees ¹⁵⁶ and J. G. Marsh,¹⁵⁷ which under the rule lie over until the next regular meeting.

151. John Garland, colonel 8th Infantry and brevet brigadier general, had been commandant of the department of New Mexico 1854-56.

152. Edwin Vose Sumner, col. 1st Dragoons, had been department commandant of New Mexico, 1851-52. In 1855, he was made colonel of his regiment; in 1857, he led an expedition against hostile Cheyennes in Kansas. In 1858, he was made commandant of the Western Department.

153. Heinrich Baldwin Moellhausen, born in Germany in 1825, participated in three expeditions through the United States—two of which had been accomplished (and considerably publicized) before this action by our Historical Society. The first was in 1851, as traveling companion of Prince Paul Wilhelm of Württemberg (*N. M. Hist. Rev.*, XVII, 181-225, 294-344 *passim*). The second was as topographer and artist with the railroad survey along the 35th parallel, headed by Lieut. A. W. Whipple, in 1853-54. The report had been published by the government in 1856 and, very possibly, was among the publications which the Society had received from Delegate Otero in Washington.

154. Dr. Livingstone is not identified, unless it might have been Dr. David Livingstone, the great African explorer and missionary. His *Missionary Travels and Researches* (in South Africa) was published in 1857. and notices of it or even copies could have reached Santa Fé by 1860. Such an election would have been no more remarkable than that accorded Louis Agassiz.

155. William M. Moore, not identified.

156. B. L. Rees, not identified.

157. Joseph G. Marsh became a Mason in Santa Fé between 1857 and 1864. No other data have been found.

Col. B. L. E. Bonneville, Hon. S. Mowry, Col. Ceran St. Vrain and Messrs. R. G. Campbell and F. W. Jones, were elected members of the Society.

The President announced the following appointments of Sections—viz:

Section 1st—History

Hon. K. Benedict	J. G. Gallegos
Hon. S. M. Baird	Serafin Ramirez
Donaciano Vigil	C. P. Clever
Bishop Lamy	A. De Marle

Major J. L. Donaldson

Section 2d—Geography

W. A. Street	J. M. Giddings
D. V. Whiting	R. Jones U. S. A.
J. M. Sena y Baca	Ambrosio Armijo

R. F. Green

Section 3d—Indian Races

J. L. Collins	Dr. M. Steck
Rev. S. Gorman	A. H. Pfeiffer
Rev. R. Medina	José L. Perea

John Ward

Section 4th—Geology and Mineralogy

R. A. Wainwright U. S. A.	E. Brevoort
I. A. Hill	Dr. S. A. Boice
L. Felsenthal	Rev. Thos. A. Hayes
Wm. Zeckendorf	W. J. Howard

Section 5th—Antiquities and Collections

M. Schwartzkopf	Dr. Jos. Nangle
J. B. Grayson	Pedro Valdez
W. A. Bransford	D. B. Koch

Section 6th—Natural History

Lieut. J. D. Wilkins	G. H. Child
D. Hood	Rev. J. Salpointe
A. Zeckendorf	J. J. Eyre
Lt. R. V. Bonneau	Juan C. Tapia

Section 7th—Agriculture

F. Delgado	A. P. Wilbar
J. M. Gallegos	E. T. Bucknam
A. J. Otero	L. W. OBannon
S. A. Hubbell	

Section 8th—Statistics

O. P. Hovey	W. Debus
S. K. Hodges	J. H. Watts
J. W. Dunn	C. Blumner
S. Rosenstein	

Section 9—Botany

Lieut. W. H. Bell	B. Seligman
H. Ruhe	L. Gold
Col. J. B. Grayson	Rev. J. Troughard
R. E. Clements	W. J. Sloan

Section 10th—Biography

J. Houghton	F. P. Abreu
W. H. Brooks	J. Amberg
M. Ashurst	Juan Perea
Dr. J. M. Whitlock	

Section 11th—Meteorology and Climatology

Lieut. O. G. Wagner	Z. Staab
Geo. T. Beall	F. Metzgar
F. L. Russ	Col. J. B. Grayson

The Curator and Librarian submitted the following Report, which was ordered to be filed, viz:

Santa Fé New Mexico

April 17th, 1860

The donations to the Society during the past month are as follows, viz:

From Col. J. B. Grayson U. S. A. an admirable Melainotype likeness of himself as first President of the Historical Society of New Mexico.

From D. V. Whiting, a colored print of Peal's Court of Death.

From Lieut. M. T. Cogswell ¹⁵⁸ U. S. A. several valuable specimens of silver and copper ore from Arizona and beautiful specimens of fossilized wood and plants.

From H. Mercure Esq. specimens of minerals and ores from Abiquiu and vicinity.

From Wm. Zeckendorf the following historical papers, viz:

1. Letter written by the President of Mexico in 1846 to General Armijo.
2. Commission dated 1842, signed by Santa Ana and others.
3. Commission dated 1843, containing signatures of Antonio Lopez de Santa Ana, General Armijo and others.
4. A number of *El Cosmópolis* published in the City of Mexico in December 1842.
5. Discurso que en la solemne apertura del Congreso nacional pronunció el Exmo Señor Presidente de la República Mejicana el General D. Anastacio Bustamante, el día 1^o de Enero de 1839.
6. A no. of *el "Monitor Republicano"* Mexico 1847.
7. A no. of *"El Boletín de la Democracia"* Mexico 1847.

Received from the Smithsonian Institute 7 vols of Reports, from 1854-58.

From A. De Marle Esq. a musical Clock of curious mechanism.

From W. J. Howard a specimen of the *Sciurus Mexicanus* or tuft eared squirrel, a number of relics from the Pecos ruins, and a copy of the U. S. Dispensary also, the *Historical Magazine* for 1859, complete.

From Wm. Zeckendorf, an Elk Horn whip purchased of an Apache Indian.

Gentlemen of the Historical Society of New Mexico: In concluding my unable and brief report, I beg leave to inform you, that the call of business from this place has got the better of my ambition in the sphere kindly tendered to me

158. Milton Cogswell, native of Indiana, graduated from West Point in 1845 but was not commissioned until 1849, as 2nd lieutenant 8th Infantry. He was made 1st lieutenant Aug. 15, 1855—and from his donation, evidently had been serving in Arizona. Later, he served with distinction during the Civil War; his death occurred Nov. 20, 1882.

in your noble Society as Librarian and Curator, and feeling the incapacity of benefitting you much in the flattering position with which I have been honored, I Kindly tender you my resignation. In so doing, I cannot but acknowledge my thanks to you who have so nobly and creditably shown your willingness to come forward and act as true men, for the sake of the advancement of Science, History and civilization—leaving behind you deeds to be hereafter highly honored.

Wherever my lot may be cast, I trust that it may be among men like yourselves, who can appreciate the beautiful workings of nature, her systematic laws, governed by a wise law giver, that law giver—Nature's God.

It is my hope, Gentlemen, that you will all act with firmness in the good cause you have begun, amicably and earnestly, so that the Historical Society may live on to shed its light over the now darkened history of New Mexico.

Wherever I may be, I shall endeavor to help you with my contributions. I shall look with earnest pleasure for your transactions and developments in the Journals of the day and will be glad to learn that your labors are crowned with success.

Very Respectfully submitted

W. J. Howard

The resignation tendered with the above report was accepted.

The Committee of arrangements reported having received 200 copies of the Constitution and By Laws in Spanish.

The office of Curator and Librarian of this Society having been declared vacant, A. De Marle Esq. was nominated to fill said vacancy, and on motion was declared to have been unanimously elected Curator and Librarian of this Society for the balance of the term.¹⁵⁹

Lieut. J. D. Wilkins U. S. A. having tendered his resignation as Chairman of the Committee of Finance and having been accepted,

Maj. J. L. Donaldson U. S. A. was appointed to fill the vacancy so created.

Lieuts. J. D. Wilkins, L. W. O'Bannon and R. Jones and I. A. Hill tendered their resignations as members of this Society all of which were accepted.

Communications were read from the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, Historical Society of Penna, Maj. J. H. Carleton,

159. See note 110, *supra*.

accompanying a ms. account of Pedro de Castañeda de Nageras expedition to New Mexico,¹⁶⁰ Ambrosio Armijo, Joseph Henry, Secy. Smithsonian Institute, Hon. J. C. Breckenridge, Leopold Gast Bro & Co., Hon. M. A. Otero, G. W. Kendall, Lieut. A. W. Whipple Top Eng. U. S. A., Prof. E. H. Horsford, Hon. J. P. Kennedy, Jared Sparks, Lieut. M. F. Maury, H. E. James Buchanan, Hon. J. S. Phelps, Mr. F. L. Russ, Maj. J. H. Carleton accompanying Journal of Excursions in the public service in New Mexico, by P. G. S. Ten Broeck, Asst. Surgn. U. S. A.,¹⁶¹ Boston Society of Natural History, Brantz Mayer, Dr. Jos. Nangle, Nathaniel Holmes Esq.,¹⁶² A. P. Wilbar, Capt. J. N. Macomb, E. Meriam Esq., Rev. J. A. Troughard, Don Guadalupe Miranda, and Rev. R. Medina.

The Narrative of Castañedas Expedition was ordered to be copied under supervision of the Committee of Arrangements, the copy to be delivered to the appropriate section and the original filed in the Archives.

Lieuts. J. D. Wilkins, R. Jones, and L. W. OBannon, and I. A. Hill Esq. were elected Corresponding members of this Society.

The Society then, on motion, adjourned.

David V. Whiting

Secretary.

(To be concluded)

160. In the next paragraph, this manuscript of the Castañeda account is spoken of as "the original." This seems incredible, because all known copies of Castañeda trace back to a manuscript in possession of the Lenox Library, New York City, which was made in Spain in 1596; but Geo. P. Winship stated that diligent inquiry made by him in Spain "has failed to bring me any information in regard to the original manuscript." In some remarkable way, the original might have come to Santa Fé in 1860, but it is far more probable that it was a secondary copy. It is deplorable that such papers should have disappeared after the Society suspended its activities in 1863.

161. Peter G. Stuyvesant Ten Broeck, native of Maine but resident of New York, was commissioned assistant surgeon on Dec. 13, 1847; advanced to major surgeon on May 21, 1861; was brevetted lieutenant-colonel for meritorious service during the Civil War; died Dec. 19, 1867. He did not become a member of the Historical Society, but at the July meeting "a portion of the Journal of Dr. Ten Broeck to the Moqui and Navajoe country was read." As this was never published, they evidently had it in original manuscript form.

162. Nathaniel Holmes (1815-1901), native of New Hampshire, was a graduate of Harvard (1837) and studied law in Maryland and at Harvard Law School ('38-39). After being admitted to the bar, he moved to St. Louis where he practiced law until 1865. In 1856, he became a charter member of the Academy of Science of St. Louis and was long its energetic corresponding secretary. It was doubtless in this capacity that he wrote to our Society, for at the next meeting Curator De Marle reported as a gift from that Academy copies of their constitution and by-laws, and the first three volumes of their *Transactions* (1857-59). At the February meeting (*supra*) he had been elected a corresponding member of our Society.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Seven Golden Cities. By Mabel Farnum. (The Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, Wis. 225 pp. \$2.75)

The writing of historical fiction is not a new art. It has gained fame for quite a few authors and occasionally fortune, such for instance as came to General Lew Wallace with his *Ben Hur, the Tale of the Christ*. The annals of New Mexico is a mine of great wealth for writers of books who take the dry bones of historical fact and using their imagination and knowledge of collateral happenings clothe them with sinew and breathe the breath of life into them.

The author of *The Seven Golden Cities* has for her main theme the colorful part played by Fray Marcos de Niza in the earliest explorations of the Spanish Southwest and especially his quest for the fabled realm of Cíbola which terminated at the pueblos of Hawikúh and Zuñi. "The purpose of *The Seven Golden Cities* is to make known and revered a Franciscan herald and pioneer of four centuries ago," writes Miss Farnum, "whose heroic sacrifices formed the first link in a missionary chain extending to our day; also to promote the noble cause of the missions to the Indians, the first Americans, who, when they receive the light of faith, make fervent converts and exemplary children of the Church." However, there are other historic figures, such as Coronado, Mendoza and Estevan, the grotesque colored man, who pass in review and add their glamor to the tale. The author relies upon acknowledged authorities for the history, archaeology and ethnology of the Spanish Southwest for the facts around which she weaves her interesting narrative. She writes for instance, in her acknowledgment of these authorities; "Professor Lansing B. Bloom, University of New Mexico, whose generous interest in this book was climaxed during a visit of the author to his 'workshop' at Albuquerque, when I was privileged to examine precious documents dealing with Fray Marcos de Niza, brought by Professor Bloom from Spain." Her diligence in acquainting herself with the

historical, ethnological, and geographical background has enabled her to produce a work that is not only good reading but also excellent presentation of New Mexico history.

The book is one of "The Science and Culture Series" of which the Rev. Joseph Husslein, S. J., is the editor. Miss Farnum is also the author of *Street of the Half Moon*, dealing with the Spanish Conquest and one of its heroic figures, St. Peter Calver, apostle to the slaves of Cartagena. Both of her books are worthy of a place in every public school and home library.—P. A. F. W .

Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936, Vol. V: The End of the Spanish Regime, 1780-1810. By Carlos E. Castañeda. (Austin, 1942; 514 pp. illus. and maps. bibliog., index. \$5.00.)

As projected by Dr. Castañeda, two volumes are yet to appear for the completing of this series. The present volume is the fifth and last portraying "The Mission Era" of Texan history. For reviews of the preceding volumes, the reader is referred to volumes XI, XIII, and XV of this quarterly.

This volume, as the earlier ones, has been drawn from a very considerable range of source material, as will be evident after a glance through the bibliography. Dr. Castañeda may, indeed, have used more sources than are there listed, for we find (p. 151) casual mention of photostat copies which he borrowed from the Coronado Library at the University of New Mexico—not otherwise acknowledged.

In the brief preface, there are several statements by the author which seem open to question. Had not Texas always been an "interior province" in an administrative sense? The creating of the General Commandancy was simply bringing the administration closer to these northern provinces. And then for Dr. Castañeda to say that this change "resulted" in the abandoning of the mission as a frontier institution is a *non sequitur*,—which is repeated in a variant form in the opening paragraph of his first chapter. There we are told that the northern tribes "could no longer be con-

trolled" by the mission, whereas Texan history does not show that those tribes ever had been so controlled. As for the natives who, as neophytes, constituted the various Texan missions, missionary discipline and training for ten years were expected to be adequate in preparing them for secularization; and if, after seventy years, they were still inept "children," is the cause to be found merely in an administrative reorganization or was it more probably intrinsic in the mission system itself?

In this connection, we question the opening sentence in Dr. Castañeda's portrayal of "secularization" (Chapter II). Was it true that Spanish officials had long been contemplating "drastic changes in the mission system of New Spain?" In the author's discussion which follows, lay readers, and especially those who are not Roman Catholics, are apt to think that secularization was little else than a destruction of the missions through the distributing of their holdings among the neophytes. But in simplest words, what actually was being attempted was to change the missions into self-supporting parishes—a transition within the Church corresponding to that in an individual from childhood to manhood. Parish priests (under their respective bishop) would take charge, and the Franciscan padres would be released for pioneering work in new fields.

Another question is raised by the author's preface, in his statement as to "steps taken to blast trails between Texas and New Mexico which eventually were to lead enterprising American pioneers to the gates of Santa Fé." It is not clear what this means unless Dr. Castañeda is trying to claim for Texas the credit for having opened the Santa Fé Trail—from Missouri. There is nothing to substantiate such a view in his chapter on "Communications between Santa Fé and San Antonio"; and indeed, after Pedro Vial's initial journey from San Antonio to Santa Fé in 1786, all of his activities centered in New Mexico rather than Texas.

Probably the general reader will find especially interesting the last chapters, beginning with "First Clashes [in Texas] with the United States." At page 280, however, Dr. Castañeda seems quite unfamiliar with the vigorous and successful rebuttal of Pike's critics by the late Dr. A. B. Hulbert in his *Zeb Pike's Arkansaw Journal* (1932), 170-175.—L. B. B.

Education in Spanish North America during the 16th Century. By Francis Borgia Steck, O. F. M. 40 pp., bibliog., \$0.25.

Those interested in the beginnings of educational work in Spanish America will welcome the ably presented and well documented survey which is available in this reprint from the *The Catholic Educational Review*. Dr. Steck is an associate professor at the Catholic University in Washington.—L. B. B.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PRESERVATION OF RECORDS AND DOCUMENTS OF USE TO OTHER DE-- PARTMENTS AND OF HISTORICAL VALUE TO THE STATE

Hon. John J. Dempsey,
Governor of New Mexico,
Santa Fé, New Mexico.

Dear Governor Dempsey:

Your special committee appointed to check material discarded by the various state departments in the Capitol during the recent clean-up, consisting of Messrs. George M. Fitzpatrick, Paul A. F. Walter, Reginald Fisher and Arie Poldervaart, wishes to report as follows:

After each department which had vault-space or hallway space in the basement of the Capitol completed checking its material for whatever it desired to retain as part of its files, the discarded material was gone over by at least one, and in most instances, by two members of the Committee simultaneously. Miss Hulda Hobbs, curator of archives for the Historical Society of New Mexico, assisted on behalf of Mr. Walter and Dr. Fisher. As a result of this check documents were in several instances located which had become lost in the vaults or hallways amidst material of some other department, and were returned to the proper agency for checking. For example, materials belonging to the Department of Education were found with overflow from the Highway Department, material from the Highway Department was mixed with records of the Gasoline Tax Division, and a valuable record book from the Secretary of State's office came to light with material of the Game and Fish Department.

Considerable material of use to the State Library in the Supreme Court building was located. Salvaged documents will prove useful in three respects:

(1) Certain reports and documents issued by Territorial and State departments were found and fill gaps in the state's official archives located in the library pursuant to Secs. 3-713—3-716, 1941 Compilation.

(2) Documents were found which fill gaps among the library's depository documents issued by the Federal government and by other states.

(3) A quantity of discarded house and senate journals, old session laws, and departmental reports were salvaged to supply material for the exchange of law books under provisions of Secs. 3-717 and 12-113, 1941 Compilation.

A large quantity of manuscript and other documentary material was brought to the Museum of New Mexico through the work of this committee and placed in the custody of the Historical Society of New Mexico under provision of a 1927 act which designates it as "official custodian and trustee for the state of New Mexico of public archives transferred to it from any public office of state, county, city, or otherwise. (Sec. 3-915, 1941 Compilation.) This material includes an extensive collection of county tax rolls of the territorial period (mainly from the 1890's through 1912, with a few scattered volumes of earlier date), some early territorial treasurers' account books, warrant registers, early correspondence files, annual reports of county superintendents, territorial vouchers and a mass of miscellaneous other documents.

Considerable time will be required to completely sort and catalogue all of the material salvaged. The accumulation of discarded records and other documentary material in the Capitol basement was so great, and the time allotted to this committee for examining it so short, that although our best efforts went into selection of records and documents which should be preserved, we feel that we were not able to do a completely satisfactory job. An attempt was made to save everything of possible permanent historical value, as well as

to save as much as possible of material which might have some intrinsic or utilitarian value to some other department. For example, quantities of discarded letterhead paper, cards and similar paper were saved for use by the State Penitentiary.

The great bulk of material removed from the Capitol, in addition to the documents salvaged for historical and other reasons, is indicated by the fact that some twenty-eight large loads of discarded paper was removed from the basement to the city dump by penitentiary trucks as a part of this clean-up.

Toward the close of the work the full committee met with members of the Secretary of State's staff and made a general check-up of all the vaults and hallways in the basement to make certain no parts of the basement had been missed.

The members of the committee express herewith their gratitude and approval of the executive order which created the committee. This action has already resulted in preservation of valuable source material for augmenting the history of New Mexico and for building up the state's permanent archives of reference material. We sincerely hope that duties such as those performed by this committee during the recent clean-up, may be continued without interruption, somehow, in the future to the end that no documents of value will be lost and so that our state's history will not encounter further serious gaps such as those which have been irreparably suffered because of a failure to preserve the right and truly important documents in the past. Certainly, also, the hazardous accumulations which endangered the Capitol until the recent clean-up should be avoided in the future through a more frequent check of out-of-date and non-current material. This will enable a more careful examination of the material discarded by the departments for those

documents which may be of value historically or of use to some other department.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE W. FITZPATRICK
REGINALD FISHER
PAUL A. F. WALTER
ARIE POLDERVAART
of the Committee

MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The thirty-sixth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association held at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, April 22-24, was attended by some one hundred and thirty delegates from twenty-eight states. This attendance was surprising in view of the transportation problem occasioned by the war.

Accent of the annual program naturally was upon war and its problems, but several sessions were devoted to lighter subjects of interest. In this latter classification was a section on cultural history at which Dr. Colin B. Goodykoontz, University of Colorado, delivered an unusual paper entitled, "The Wild West: or, Beadle's Dime Novels"; the source of many fantastic and "blood-curdling" tales with New Mexico as the locale may be found in the once widely read "Dime Novel" of the last century. At the same session Dr. Lovette J. Davidson, professor of literature at the University of Denver, read a paper on "Western Campfire Tales" which convinced his audience that a rich source of cultural history was in danger of being lost.

During a sectional meeting on "Western, Local and Economic History," Dr. James C. Malin, University of Kansas, presented an important paper on "Housing on the Prairie and Plains: A case study in the possibilities of regional and local historical research." This contribution was especially apropos in view of the Rockefeller Foundation sponsored study of the "Great Plains Region," now in

progress in several portions of that area within the United States and Canada. The second paper at this section was this reporter's "William Blackmore, Western Entrepreneur," an economic study of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado now in progress under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation's committee for research in economic history.

Of particular importance to the West, and in many ways of special interest in New Mexico, was the announcement of the creation of new archive depositories and the acquisition of important manuscript collections. Dr. Stanley Pargellis, formerly professor of history at Yale University and newly appointed head of the Newberry Library in Chicago, announced that the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad had selected the Newberry Library as the depository for a large part of its early historical records. A considerable collection of the land records of this same corporation was deposited several years ago at the Baker Library, Harvard University. Both document collections are open to qualified research personnel. The Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad has deposited over two thousand of its original field books and survey records at the University of Colorado. These records contain the original survey notes made from 1870 to 1880 for the proposed main line through New Mexico to El Paso and Mexico City, and branch lines to Elizabethtown and the Maxwell land grant, Chama and San Juan regions, the Galisteo mines, Santa Rita, Pinos Altos, and the silver deposits in the Burro Mountains. An annotated calendar of the historical collections, prepared by the Department of Archives of the railroad, will be issued this fall.

A new depository for western manuscripts has been created at the University of Missouri through the assistance of a grant by the Rockefeller Foundation. Under Dr. W. Francis English, this department is engaged in assembling a valuable collection of records. Dr. English is especially interested in documents relative to the Santa Fé trail trade,

and has developed a program for securing such records from banks and commercial organizations as well as from private individuals. This collection will be open to New Mexico scholars.

Considerable interest developed at the Cedar Rapids meeting in the announcement that both the Colorado and Wyoming legislatures had created state archive departments.

Before adjourning the Association established a special committee to study the situation with regard to the teaching of United States history in secondary schools and colleges. This controversial subject was prompted by an article in the *New York Times* which purported to show that only a relatively small number of high school students take courses in United States history. The committee appointed by the Association will make its report by October 15, and the results will be published in pamphlet form and in the press. The 1944 meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association will be held at St. Louis, Missouri.

HERBERT O. BRAYER

NECROLOGY

MARIOT HUDD MURPHY

Unusual was the career of Mrs. Mariot Murphy, who died in Santa Fé on June 1, 1943. Mrs. Murphy was born in Green Bay, Wisconsin, daughter of Thomas Richard and Mary Hill Hudd, her father having served several terms in congress. She attended the University of Wisconsin and received the degrees of LL.B., LL.M., and M.P.L. degrees from the National University law school in Washington, D. C., where she was elected to Kappa Betta Pi. She married John T. Murphy, now retired chief of the field division of the U. S. General Land Office, then of Montello, Wis., on September 2, 1907. The wedding took place at Green Bay from where they moved shortly afterward to Washington, D. C. There a son was born to them on September 7, 1909. His tragic death in his ninth year from an accident while playing with school mates, cast a shadow over their lives for many years. It was one of the reasons for their coming to Santa Fé in 1918.

Mrs. Murphy was a member of the New Mexico Bar Association, of the American Bar Association, a former state president of the League of Women Voters, state chairman of the National Woman's Party, president of the Santa Fé Woman's Board of Trade 1925-1926 and of the Santa Fé Woman's Club in 1926-1927. At the time of her death she headed the women's speakers' bureau of the U. S. War Savings staff in New Mexico. Mrs. Murphy at one time was the owner and editor of a national magazine *Information*. In 1923 she traveled abroad as the New Mexico delegate to the ninth congress of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance. The congress was held in Rome, Italy. There Mrs. Murphy was received in audience by the Pope and met many of the Italian government leaders, including Benito Mussolini. She was attorney for the late Archbishop Rudolph Gerken. She represented the Woman's Catholic Order of Foresters and others in wellknown cases,

having made a specialty of probate procedure and the law and precedents governing wills. Church organizations in which Mrs. Murphy was an active member were the Catholic Daughters of America; the St. Francis Altar Society of which she had been president; and the Third Order of St. Francis. She represented New Mexico at the Eucharistic Congress in Chicago in 1926, and was the lay delegate to the national meeting of St. Albert's fraternity at Pittsburgh, Penna., some years ago.

After funeral services at St. Francis Cathedral in Santa Fé, the body was sent to Washington, D. C., where interment took place.—P. A. F. W.

The Historical Society of New Mexico

(INCORPORATED)

Organized December 26, 1859

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1861—MAJ. JAMES L. DONALDSON, U. S. A.

1863—HON. KIRBY BENEDICT

adjourned sine die, Sept. 23, 1863

re-established Dec. 27, 1880

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PALACE OF THE GOVERNORS

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NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

Editor
LANSING B. BLOOM

Managing Editor
PAUL A. F. WALTER

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Address business communications to Mr. P. A. F. Walter, State Museum, Santa Fe, N. M.; manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be addressed to Mr. Bloom at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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NEW MEXICO AND THE SECTIONAL CONTROVERSY, 1846-1861

By LOOMIS MORTON GANAWAY

CHAPTER V

NEW MEXICO—UNION OR CONFEDERACY?

IN ALL PARTS of the country the election of Abraham Lincoln foreshadowed a dissolution of the Union to men who had not forgotten warnings emanating from the South prior to the election. Thus, in the weeks which followed, strong pressure was placed upon members of congress to formulate a plan of compromise by which peaceful relations might be restored to the sections.

Perhaps the most important of these compromises was that proposed by Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky. He offered for consideration of the senate an "unamendable amendment" by which the Missouri Compromise line would have been extended to the Pacific, and congress would have been forbidden to interfere with slavery in states where it then existed.¹ Such act, of course, would have placed New Mexico within the zone of slavery extension.

In the house of representatives, where the senate debate was being followed intently, Representative Alexander Boteler of Virginia introduced a resolution calling for the formation of a committee of thirty-three members. Its purpose was to consider the Crittenden measures and to

1. *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 114.

offer any independent suggestions that might appear practicable.² For about five weeks this committee considered numerous proposals. Finally, on January 14, 1861, Thomas Corwin of Ohio, the chairman, reported to the house a plan adopted by a majority of its members, one feature of which was a recommendation that New Mexico be admitted into the Union "with or without slavery."³

The proposal of statehood for New Mexico was generally regarded as a concession to the South. Probably, the adoption of a slave code by New Mexico in 1859, was interpreted as proving its allegiance to southern economic and social institutions, despite local conditions that might preclude the rapid advancement of slavery into that region.⁴

In a private letter, of April 8, 1861, Charles Francis Adams, a member of the committee, gave an account of some of the proceedings. According to him, the southerners in the committee and in congress did not regard the New Mexico proposal as of any great advantage to the South. They were much more concerned with guarantees respecting all territories. With reference to the proposed statehood, Adams wrote:

The limit of my concession was then to give the slave-holders a chance to make New Mexico a slave State if they could. To that extent my offer was made in good faith. I did suppose they might make such politically for awhile. But the action of a new government in a different sense would ere long counteract that influence, and the result would in the end be to make one more free state.⁵

Acrimonious attacks upon the New Mexico measure were made by the free state congressmen, but southern members took little or no interest in replying. Otero, the New Mexico delegate, alone attempted to answer them and,

2. James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States, from the Compromise of 1850* (8 vols., New York, 1895), III, 267-268.

3. *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 378, 499.

4. Rhodes, *op. cit.*, III, 267-268, note.

5. *Idem.*

considering his youth and his lack of parliamentary experience, performed well. On January 18, 1861, John Sherman, a member of the house from Ohio, referred to New Mexico during debate on an army appropriation bill.⁶ He questioned the actual understanding of the slavery question by the inhabitants. His doubts, he declared, were based upon the probable lack of information that peons, half-breeds, Mexicans, and the few Anglo-Saxons might have on that institution, geographically far removed from that region.

Sherman said that three proposals concerning New Mexico were being considered in congress: first, to retain it in its present territorial status, with its 106,000 inhabitants including twelve slaves; second, to admit it to statehood; third, to adopt the Crittenden proposal, thereby protecting slavery by constitutional amendment in that general region. He thought the first plan the best, said he would support the second, even though objection was being raised not so much to negro slavery as to the "white slavery" or peonage, but expressed determined opposition to the third, because it took authority from congress and from the people of the territory. On several occasions, during Sherman's remarks, Otero interrupted him. When finally given opportunity to reply to these strictures, he arraigned Sherman for what he regarded as slurring references to the people of the territory.⁷

Four days after Sherman's speech, Representative Cadwalader C. Washburn of Wisconsin resumed discussion of the New Mexico proposal, with which he combined a personal attack on Otero. In his opening remarks, Washburn declared that statehood for New Mexico was an unequivocal concession to the slave states, because "the same power and the same party which has adopted in that Territory a slave code . . . will adopt a slavery constitution."⁸ He intimated that Otero's interest was prompted by an anticipated senator-

6. *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 455.

7. *Idem*.

8. *Ibid.*, 514.

ship. Otero, he added, was believed to be "sound" on the slavery question, "for, if I mistake not, he had something to do with getting up the existing slave code in that territory."⁹

At this point in the debate, Otero interrupted Washburn to state that he was "sound" on all questions that were "just." To this, Washburn replied that although New Mexico could not sustain either a free or a slave population because of the natural conditions of the country, it would nevertheless lend its influence in favor of slavery. That, he said, was what he had in mind by asserting that it would be a slave state.¹⁰

During a further discussion of the issue in the lower house of congress, on January 29, Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania referred briefly to New Mexico. He remarked that the committee of thirty-three had indeed shown its estimate of the magnitude of southern grievances by offering to admit New Mexico into the federal union of states:

They offer to admit as a State about two hundred and fifty thousand square miles of volcanic desert, with less than a thousand white Anglo-Saxon inhabitants, some forty or fifty thousand Indians, Mustees and Mexicans, who do not ask for admission, and who have shown their capacity for self government by the infamous slave code which they have passed, which establishes the most cruel kind of black and white slavery.¹¹

In reply to this attack and to others of like character, Otero refuted the imputation that the people were incapable of self-government. He further denied that New Mexico had come into the Union a free territory, later to be converted to slavery by "influences from this capital."¹² One explanation which Otero offered for the adoption of the slave code was that, until the compromise measures of 1850

9. *Ibid.*, 514-515.

10. *Ibid.*, 515.

11. *Idem.*

12. *Ibid.*, 761.

were adopted, the law of Texas, recognizing slavery, extended over the eastern part of what was now New Mexico.¹³ The United States had acknowledged the Texan claim, he said, by paying to the state of Texas \$10,000,000. For a delegate, a native of New Mexico, to concede any Texan claim was an illuminating admission to those members of the house who had served in congress in 1850. Then, petitions from the territory and from hundreds of places throughout the North protested any concessions to Texas.

The proposal for statehood never gained much momentum in the house. On March 1, 1861, a bill for the admission of New Mexico was tabled by a vote of 115 to 71,¹⁴ the Republicans opposing the measure. The relations between New Mexico and the nation were so unimportant that in the turbulent period through which the country was then passing, most of the congressmen probably gave this territory no further thought.

Shortly after Representative Corwin had let it be known that statehood was being proposed as one measure in the compromise between the sections, Horace Greeley wrote an editorial for the New York *Tribune* titled "New Mexico."¹⁵ He declared that this in reality meant "the virtual surrender of New Mexico to slavery," and he expressed regret that such possibility was being "meditated by leading Republicans in Washington" as a means of pacifying the South. Greeley maintained that the natural conditions of New Mexico had not changed in the ten years since Webster had avowed that nature had already settled the slavery issue in that region. He cited an offer that he said had been made during the previous year by Washington Hunt, who reputedly had stated that he would be willing to pay a thousand dollars to any slaveholder who even wished to take his slaves to New Mexico.¹⁶

13. *Idem.*

14. *Ibid.*, 1326.

15. New York *Tribune*, December 31, 1860.

16. *Idem.*

Greeley expressed the belief that had New Mexico been created a state in 1850, it would have been free; but, he added, "under the last two Democratic administrations, systematic efforts have been made to plant slavery in New Mexico."¹⁷ As to the means employed by southern interests, he said:

Zealous Slavery Propagandists fill all the important Federal Offices. Pro-Slavery Army Officers have been sent there, taking slaves with them. The Border Ruffians who were finally beaten out of Kansas have migrated thither in platoons, and some of them have been appointed to important Federal posts. A Slave Code of signal atrocity and inhumanity has been put through the Territorial Legislature, and is now in full force.¹⁸

In addition to territorial officers, army men, and the so-called "Border Ruffians," Greeley said southern interests in New Mexico had been strengthened by the appearance of the "scum of southern rascaldom," who had been driven out of San Francisco and who had found refuge in southern New Mexico.

Like Thaddeus Stevens, Greeley reserved his most castigating criticism for the natives, of whom he wrote:

The mass of the people are Mexicans—a hybrid race of Spanish and Indian origin. They are ignorant and degraded, demoralized and priest-ridden. The debasing Mexican system of peonage—a modified slavery—is still maintained there. A few able and unscrupulous men control everything. The masses are their blind, facile tools. There is no Press of any account; no Public Opinion; of course, no Republican party. Slavery rules all.¹⁹

In concluding the editorial, Greeley expressed the opinion that Lincoln would recognize the evil forces operating in the territory and correct the conditions immediately.

17. *Idem.*

18. *Idem.*

19. *Idem.*

In a public letter of January 6, 1861, Otero replied to the Greeley editorial, and a few weeks later, issued a pamphlet which included the Greeley charges and his reply.²⁰ In answering Greeley, Otero said that recent events had placed a party in power that was purely sectional "in its origin, in its principles, and its powers." The Republican party represented a minority of the American people, he continued, and had succeeded in gaining control of the federal government "—if any Government exists at all—" by concentrating its whole strength in one section of the country. By nurturing the prejudices, inflaming the passions, exciting the animosities, and bribing the interests of the free states, the Republican party had so strengthened itself that it could now attack the rights, the character, and the interests of the South. The result of this attack was a threat to the existence of the federal union of states.

Otero then replied to that part of the Greeley article that had characterized the Mexicans as lacking intelligence. He said that a test of their mentality would shortly follow, for with the induction of Lincoln into office, the region would doubtless be overrun with "a flood of emissaries, bent on ingratiating themselves among the people of the territory." These enemies of peace, he said, would not be satisfied with the repeal of laws for the protection of property in slaves, but would seek to destroy "your sanctified religion, your civil rights, your social ties, your customary rights so well adapted to your condition."²¹

In justifying the action of the territorial legislature at the adoption of a slave code, Otero said that the people of New Mexico had recognized "the right of the citizens of the different states to take with them into the common domain . . . every lawful species of property." The slave code, he added, was not one of "signal atrocity," but he admitted that Greeley might have found some basis for such an accusation

20. *An Abolition Attack upon New Mexico and a reply by Hon. M. A. Otero* (Santa Fé, 1861).

21. *Idem.*

in that section of the code, forbidding marriage of white persons and negroes. This would impose "a restraint upon the exercise of a taste which the ultra members of his party occasionally evince."²² Otero categorically denied any conspiracy to "convert" New Mexico to slavery by sending civil and military officials into the territory. He declared that not once had the question of attitudes on sectional issues been considered by him when making recommendations for territorial appointments.

The imputation that "conspiracy in the very bosom of the national administration at Washington"²³ existed for the advancement of southern interests in New Mexico during the Pierce and Buchanan administrations was made so frequently that the available evidence necessitates investigation. Because the original indictment was lodged against Otero, Jefferson Davis, and others in Washington, it has been generally accepted by a school of writers who have failed, however, to indicate the basis for their allegations.²⁴ A search through the appointment papers of the state, justice, and interior department files from the date of the territorial enabling act of 1851 until 1861, and a study of much personal correspondence of the same period do not warrant full acceptance of the Greeley indictment.

As the fountain-head of the so-called southern conspiracy, one should note the responsible officials in Washington, who were in a position to place southern men in territorial positions during this period. Three southerners were present in the cabinet of President Pierce; the secretary of the navy, James C. Dobbin of North Carolina; the secretary of the treasury, James Guthrie of Kentucky; and the secretary of war, Jefferson Davis of Mississippi. Of

22. *Idem*.

23. Elijah R. Kennedy, *The Contest for California in 1861* (New York, 1912), 67.

24. Perhaps the first writer to accept the indictment was Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, 680; among others have been Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 360-361; Rhodes, *History of the United States, from the Compromise of 1850*, III, 312-313. Kennedy, *The Contest for California in 1861*, 64-72, believed the "conspiracy" extended throughout the West.

this group only Davis by his position was directly able to send southern men to New Mexico. Investigation does not show, however, that a preponderant number of southerners served in the military forces there during his term of office. It is true that Colonel Thomas T. Fauntleroy, a Virginian, replaced Colonel Edwin V. Sumner, a native of Massachusetts, as commandant of the Ninth Military Department during Secretary Davis' tenure. However, evidence does not indicate any activity by Fauntleroy in advancing southern interests in New Mexico. He was far too much occupied with subjugating recalcitrant Indians to have given much thought to sectional matters.

In the Buchanan administration, four executive departments of the cabinet were directed by southerners at various times. Howell Cobb of Georgia and Philip F. Thomas of the border state of Maryland held the office of secretary of the treasury; Aaron V. Brown of Tennessee and Joseph Holt of Kentucky directed the post office department; Jacob Thompson of Mississippi was the secretary of the interior; and John B. Floyd of Virginia, and Holt were in the war department. Although other southerners in Washington may have been able indirectly to affect territorial appointments in New Mexico, the appointment papers, which ordinarily should reveal any great activity by such groups do not justify this conclusion.

Furthermore, if Presidents Pierce and Buchanan, as their critics charged, were under the domination of southerners, they would scarcely have been beguiled so thoughtlessly into a conspiracy which would have represented a violation of their trust. Because every major territorial appointment was made upon the recommendation of the president, subject to the approval of the senate, a "central cabal" of southerners probably could not have blinded both the executive and legislative officials.

The following table shows the position, the name of the appointee, the state from which appointed, and the date of the commission for all important officials from the establish-

ment of territorial government in New Mexico in 1851 through the first appointments of President Abraham Lincoln.²⁵

Governor

James S. Calhoun	Georgia	January 9, 1851
William C. Lane	Missouri	July 15, 1852
(native of Pennsylvania)		
David Meriwether ²⁶	Kentucky	May 6, 1853
(native of Virginia)		
Abraham Rencher	North Carolina	August 17, 1857
Henry Connelly ²⁷	New Mexico	May 24, 1861
(native of Virginia)		

Territorial Secretary

William S. Allen	Missouri	March 12, 1851
John Greiner	Indiana	June 28, 1852
Wm. S. Messervy	New Mexico	April 8, 1853
(native of Massachusetts)		
W. W. H. Davis	Pennsylvania	May 22, 1854
Alexander M. Jackson	Mississippi	September 16, 1857
(native of Ireland)		
Miguel A. Otero	New Mexico	May 24, 1861
(not confirmed by senate)		
James H. Holmes	Vermont	July 26, 1861

Territorial Judges

Grafton Baker	Mississippi	February 19, 1851
Horace Mower	Michigan	March 6, 1851

25. Clarence Edward Carter, ed. and comp., *The Territorial Papers of the United States*. Preliminary printing of volume I. (Washington, 1934). The appointment papers in the State, Justice, and Interior Department Records, National Archives, have also been used in this table.

26. Variant spellings of this name were: Merriwether, Merriweather, and Meriweather.

27. Although most writers of New Mexico history state that Connelly was born in Kentucky, according to his own statement he was born in Virginia and removed with his family to Kentucky at the age of four. N. A., State Department Records, Appointment Papers, Henry Connelly Papers.

John S. Watts	Indiana	March 6, 1851
Kirby Benedict	Illinois	April 5, 1853
(native of Connecticut)		
James S. Deavenport	Mississippi	April 5, 1853
Perry E. Brocchus	Maryland	February 8, 1854
Thomas B. Stephenson	Pennsylvania	February 10, 1858
(native of Kentucky)		
William F. Boone	Pennsylvania	June 14, 1858
(native of Connecticut)		
Zachariah L. Nabers	Alabama	June 14, 1858
William G. Blackwood	Missouri	February 16, 1859
(native of South Carolina)		
William A. Davidson	New Mexico	January 24, 1860
(native of ?)		
Perry E. Brocchus	Maryland	January 24, 1861
Sydney A. Hubbell	New Mexico	April 30, 1861
(native of Connecticut)		

This list of officials shows that, with the exception of Lane, all the governors including Connelly, who was appointed by Lincoln, were natives of southern or border states. Lane, though born in Pennsylvania, had been a resident of the border state of Missouri for many years, prior to his appointment in New Mexico. Only one territorial secretary, Jackson, was from a southern state, although Allen was appointed from Missouri. Of the territorial judges, Baker, Deavenport, Nabers, and Blackwood were natives of southern states, and Brocchus and Stephenson were from border states. Nabers and Davidson, although appointed, apparently did not accept the positions.

The military records for this period likewise deserve consideration. From 1851 until 1863, New Mexico was the ninth military department of the United States. It was commanded in 1851-52 by Colonel Edwin V. Sumner of Massachusetts, but Sumner was replaced during Jefferson Davis' tenure in the war department by Colonel Thomas T. Fauntleroy of Virginia. From 1854 until 1858, General

John Garland of Virginia was in command. He was succeeded by Colonel B. L. E. Bonneville, of New York. In 1859, Fauntleroy returned to New Mexico, but early in 1860, Colonel W. W. Loring of North Carolina was given command of the department, a position which he held until he resigned in order to join the Confederate army. With respect to Loring's appointment, a writer of New Mexico history has said:

Early in 1860, the secretary of war, Floyd, sent Colonel W. W. Loring, of North Carolina, to command the department of New Mexico, while George B. Crittenden, who had been sent out for the same purpose as Colonel Loring, was placed by the latter in command of an expedition against the Apaches. . . . It was the business of these men to attempt the corruption of the patriotism of the officers under them and to induce them to lead their men into Texas and give them to the service of the rebellion.²⁸

According to the *Santa Fé Gazette* of May 25, 1861, among the officers in New Mexico who had resigned their commissions in the United States Army in order to serve the Confederacy were Major H. H. Sibley, a brother-in-law of Colonel E. R. S. Canby, Captain Dabney Maury of Virginia, Captain Andrew Jackson Lindsay of Mississippi, Captain John Stevenson of Virginia, Colonel John Grayson of Kentucky, and Major James Longstreet of Alabama. The *Gazette* in noting these resignations added:

All of these officers rank high in the service and in their resignations the Department of New Mexico will suffer a serious loss, that will not be easily repaired. They will doubtless readily obtain positions in the army of the Confederate States to which their rank and efficiency entitle them.²⁹

28. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 359-360. According to Loring's account, he arrived in New Mexico on March 22, 1861, W. W. Loring to Assistant Adjutant General L. Thomas, *Santa Fé*, March 23, 1861, N. A., War Department Records, Headquarters of the Army.

29. *Santa Fé Weekly Gazette*, May 25, 1861.

After Otero had answered Greeley's editorial, charging corruption in the appointment of territorial officers, he remained in Washington during the critical period following Lincoln's election. From there, he addressed a public letter to the people of New Mexico, in which he said that the election of Lincoln should not destroy the Union, because the president would not have control of congress. As to his own position, he added:

God knows I am far from being a Republican either in principle or feeling. I would fight that party to the bitter end. But I don't think it necessary to dissolve the Union merely because that party happens to elect a President, . . . If a dissolution of this country should take place, we of New Mexico will be expected to take sides with one of the two or three or four of the Republics into which it would be divided. What will be the determination of the people of New Mexico if such deplorable consequences should come to pass, I cannot say. My own opinion and my counsel to them would be, in that event, a union with the Pacific free states, west of the great prairies. If California and Oregon declare their independence of this Government I am for joining them.³⁰

Otero's proposal that New Mexico join "with the Pacific free States" rather than with a confederacy of southern states was his first public statement suggesting anything but the most avowed pro-southern sympathy. It is difficult to comprehend this shift from his former position, and it apparently may be understood only by recalling that Otero, himself, felt no strong tie of affection for the South, his relations to that section coming largely through the influence of his wife.

This explanation was offered by William Need, a soldier stationed in New Mexico, who wrote frequently to

30. *Santa Fé Weekly Gazette*, May 25, 1861.

officials in Washington.³¹ In a letter to the secretary of war he said of Otero's attitude with respect to the sectional controversy, upon the delegate's return from the national capital:

Southerners here and elsewhere are generally believed to have relied too much on the support of Miguel Otero, an educated native, who has been representing the territory in Congress for several years; so far, he hasn't lived up to expectations. His wife is an open secessionist, but so far has been unable to influence her husband to the point of an open support of the rebel government. . . . Otero sees no advantage to Otero in lending a hand to the secessionists, but professes to be a Union man, but like Connelly, I think he is a *neutral* Union man, and can "jump on either side of the fence."³²

In the fall of 1860, John S. Watts was elected delegate to congress. The exact date in 1861 of Otero's return to New Mexico from Washington is not certain. If he had chosen to remain in Washington, he would have found few friends. Most of the people with whom he had been closely associated had followed their states into the Confederacy. At Santa Fé, where he resided after his return, Otero did not speak in support of the Confederacy; neither did he become a strong Union man. His influence among the natives was great, and it is possible that he counselled them to await the developments of the war before actively engaging themselves on either side. If he had taken a strong position at any time during the summer or autumn of 1861, the local press and the official and private correspondence from New Mexico on some occasion probably would have noted it. Temporarily, he withdrew from all political

31. Need particularly addressed communications to officials of the state and war departments. He was a printer by trade, and his letters would suggest a man of considerable education. His correspondence, of an extremely partisan nature, none the less offers one interpretation of events then transpiring in New Mexico.

32. William Need to Simon Cameron, Fort Fauntleroy, date [?]. N. A., War Department Records, Secretary of War Document File.

activity, although Mrs. Otero, with numerous family connections in the Confederate forces, made no secret of her sympathy for the South. Perhaps, consciously or otherwise, the course followed by Otero was influenced by his appointment as territorial secretary. This was received by him in Santa Fé in July 1861, and although it was not confirmed and James H. Holmes was appointed (July 26, 1861) in his stead, yet Otero did actually serve for several months.

Seemingly, the attitude of practically the entire population was one of indifference to events transpiring in other parts of the country. Some individuals, largely among the Anglo-American population, had assumed definite positions, but in their efforts to win support of the native population, all attempts failed.³³ In an editorial in the *Gazette* of July 13, 1861, John T. Russell, the editor, in noting the calmness of the inhabitants, said:

What is the position of New Mexico? The answer is a short one. She desires to be let alone. No interference from one side or the other of the sections that are now waging war. She neither wants abolitionists or secessionists from abroad to mix in her affairs at present; nor will she tolerate either. In her own good time she will say her say, and choose for herself the position she wishes to occupy in the new disposition of the now disrupted power of the United States.³⁴

Russell's neutral position was challenged by Kirby Benedict, one of the most militant Union supporters in the territory. He declared that many of the exponents of Russell's ideas were advising neutrality only because of the pressure of federal troops in New Mexico. In what he termed "an entirely private letter" addressed to President

33. Edward D. Tittman, "The Exploitation of Treason," *New Mexico Historical Review*, IV (1929), 128-145, gives interesting information on indictments, trials, confiscations, etc., that were carried on in New Mexico for several years after 1862.

34. N. A. Justice Department Records, Attorney General MSS., papers of Judge Kirby Benedict including editorial from the *Gazette*. This collection also includes copies of the *Arizonian* published at Tucson and the *Mesilla Times*, "Mesilla, Arizona." Mesilla is now a part of New Mexico, but was the capital of the Confederate Territory of Arizona during the occupation of that region by Confederate troops.

Lincoln, he expressed doubt concerning the loyalty of many residents in the territory. Then, he attempted to give the president a summary of the political events in New Mexico that had finally brought it to a "faltering faith in the Union."³⁵

Although he expressed his belief that "rampant secessionists" were becoming less open in their abuse of "the Union and the North and her men,"³⁶ he attributed much of the present trouble to President Buchanan's failure "to give any of the free states much chance in the appointments for New Mexico."³⁷ According to Benedict, southern officials had been instrumental in bringing into the territory "southern extremists," who not only wanted to improve their economic position but were determined to impose their own customs on the inhabitants. At present, these southerners, he added, were actively engaged in spreading rumors "that the government was destroyed, that the confederacy was carrying everything before it, that Missouri was sure to secede, and that N. Mexico must do as that state does."³⁸

At the time of Benedict's letter to Lincoln in June, 1861, people in the territory had not yet learned of Governor Rencher's removal. In his letter to the president, Benedict expressed grave doubts as to the wisdom of retaining a man in office who had remarked that if North Carolina, the native state of Rencher, "goes out, he must share her fate."³⁹

Rumors questioning the loyalty of the governor were likewise being circulated. In a letter to Secretary of State Seward, Rencher complained that stories were being printed in eastern papers of his having led successfully a revolution in Santa Fé and of having captured Fort Marcy adjoining the town. He expressed the most profound resentment at

35. Kirby Benedict to Abraham Lincoln, Santa Fé, June 2, 1861. N. A., Justice Department Records, Attorney General MSS.

36. *Idem.*

37. *Idem.*

38. *Idem.*

39. *Idem.*

this defamation; in at least one instance, he had demanded a retraction.⁴⁰

In another communication to Edward Bates, the attorney general of the United States, Governor Rencher regretted the lack of accurate information that was reaching the territory. New Mexico, he said, depended mostly on rumors that circulated freely. To all reports concerning the war, the natives remained generally apathetic because they were too much consumed by the serious internal problems, particularly that of the Indians. For this reason he doubted the probability of any active participation by the people of New Mexico in the "bloody sectional conflict."⁴¹

The governor was well justified in his opinion. Since February, 1861, the Navahos and Apaches had been renewing hostile operations throughout the territory. The conditions of travel were reported as never more unsafe.⁴²

This renewal of warfare resulted in part from the withdrawal of federal troops in the extreme limits, especially western New Mexico. The Indians laid waste the country, attacked villages, made captive numerous women and children, and sent the inhabitants scurrying to fortified places.⁴³ To add to this turmoil, the troublesome elements among the Mexicans seized the opportunity to show general disregard for law.⁴⁴

Equally important with the removal of federal troops as a cause of the depredations was the realization among the discontented elements of weaknesses in the military. The Indians were apparently aware of the disruption in the army, occasioned by the resignations of officers who were hastening to the South.

40. Rencher to Seward, Santa Fé, April 20, 1861, N. A., State Department Records, Territorial Papers, II.

41. Rencher to Bates, Santa Fé, June [?] 4, 1861, N. A., Justice Department Records, Attorney General MSS.

42. Benedict to Bates, Santa Fé, n.d., N. A., Justice Department Records, Attorney General MSS.

43. Rencher to Seward, Santa Fé, August 10, 1861, N. A., State Department Records, Territorial Papers, II.

44. Loring to Assistant Adjutant General L. Thomas, Santa Fé, March 23, 1861, N. A., War Department Records, Headquarters of the Army.

As a result of the chaotic conditions that prevailed throughout New Mexico during the summer of 1861, the peaceful inhabitants lost faith in the ability of the federal military forces to protect them. Colonel Edwin Canby, who succeeded Colonel Loring as commandant of the Ninth Military Department, endeavored to raise a volunteer force, but in this he was not entirely successful.⁴⁵ The natives were warned by southern sympathizers that if they joined such force, a Texan army then on the borders of New Mexico would supply the Indians with arms to attack them. Confederate agents were reported among the Navahos for the purpose of forming a military alliance, from which the Indians were to receive much booty.⁴⁶ Although these reports were circulated by southern sympathizers to weaken federal prestige, Colonel Canby and his associates used the same rumors with some effectiveness as incentives for the enlistment of Mexicans. "Kit" Carson worked diligently with Canby, and to him was attributed the success of having gained the support of prominent natives, who were rewarded with commissions in the Union army.⁴⁷

If it was expected that Rencher as governor of New Mexico would support Colonel Canby in his program, he failed to respond to any solicitations. Instead, he exerted no effort to arouse the inhabitants either to the necessity of defending themselves against the Indians or against the threatened invasion of the Texans. The negative attitude of the governor was taken by his enemies as a further proof of his disloyalty.⁴⁸ Consequently, when the information finally reached Santa Fé in the summer of 1861 that Henry Connelly had been appointed to succeed Rencher, a positive pro-Union policy was anticipated by federal adherents. At the same time, Miguel Otero was notified that he had been

45. Rencher to Seward, Santa Fé, August 10, 1861, N. A., State Department Records, Territorial Papers, New Mexico, II.

46. Benedict to Bates, n.d., Santa Fé, N. A., Justice Department Records, Attorney General MSS.

47. Kit Carson MS., Bancroft Library.

48. William Need to Secretary Seward, Santa Fé, August 8, 1861, N. A., State Department Records, Miscellaneous Letters.

named territorial secretary, replacing Alexander Jackson, who was with the Confederate army in Texas.⁴⁹

To some ardent Union men, these appointments may have appeared injudicious, in view of Connelly's tacit support of the slave code and Otero's professed admiration of southern institutions. Both appointments were made on the recommendation of Associate Justice John Watts, in whose integrity and judgment President Lincoln was said to have had the greatest confidence. Both men, Watts believed, exerted the widest influence in New Mexico, and, having been assured personally of their loyalty, he impressed upon the president the necessity of naming them.⁵⁰

Although Connelly was a native of Virginia, and had lived in Kentucky and Missouri, he had been in New Mexico since 1828. In New Mexico's abortive effort for statehood in 1850, Connelly had been elected governor, and since that time, he had been a member of the National Democratic party of the territory. Despite his declared support of this party, Connelly, reports said, could not hear the name of Jackson or Buchanan without cursing.⁵¹ The *Gazette* regarded the appointment as "good and a compliment to Connelly's long residence in the territory." His marriage to a member of a prominent native family and his wealth were regarded as important factors in his having been named. Not so favorably was it received by William Need, who wrote to Secretary Seward:

The appointment of Dr. Henry Connelly of Peralto [Peralta] is one that *should not have been made*. In the first place Dr. Connelly is a native of Kentucky; has resided in New Mexico some 20 or 25 years. Is a respected citizen, fond of making money and hoarding it up. He is intermarried

49. Frederic W. Seward, Assistant Secretary of State, to Miguel Otero, Washington, May 25, 1861, N. A., State Department Records, Domestic Letters.

50. John S. Watts to Abraham Lincoln, memorandum, N. A., State Department Records, Appointment Papers, Applications for Office; the *Santa Fé Gazette*, February 15, 1862, discussed the wisdom of the appointments.

51. Spruce M. Baird to Jacob Thompson, n.d., n.p., N. A., Interior Department Records, Secretary's Office, Appointment Division, Incoming Papers, 1857-1866.

with a native of this country and is reputed to be *rich*. He has always been a *Pro-Slavery* man—was in favor of the introduction of slavery into the Territory, and owned negroes *here* until within a comparatively short period. A year or two ago he took the last of his slaves from this Territory to the States and *sold them*. He is now a professed *neutral* Union man, provided the Union cause is the strongest. According to the oral statement of Col. John B. Grayson, late commissary in the U. S. Army, and a native of Kentucky, Dr. *Connelly agreed with him in opinion on the slavery question*, and Col. Grayson is a secessionist, *per se*.⁵²

Need's account of Connelly's record although generally correct, was an attempt to depict the governor as secretly sympathetic with the Confederacy, if not actually in league with its agents. His assumptions were never in greater error. Connelly probably had expressed pro-slavery sentiments in the past. Need, in fact, might have alluded to Connelly's membership in the session of the territorial legislature that had so readily passed the slave code to which he had apparently lent his support. What Need and other critics failed to see was that although Connelly may have been at one time a pro-slavery man, he was at no time an advocate of secession.

Governor Connelly, whose years in New Mexico had given to him a thorough understanding of the Mexican temperament, recognized the futility of attempting to arouse the natives by an appeal to preserve the Union or to other pleas that were advanced by Union adherents in other sections of the country. He did believe, however, that hatred for Texas and Texans could be revived. Thus, in the weeks following his induction as governor, Connelly travelled through northern New Mexico, making addresses and writing many letters. He reminded the people of the Texan claim to all New Mexico east of the Rio Grande, of

52. William Need to Secretary Seward, Santa Fé, August 8, 1861, N. A., Miscellaneous Letters.

the ruthlessness of the Texans, and of the manner in which the fathers of the present generation of fighting men had once repulsed the Texan invaders.⁵³ The fact that a Confederate force, largely of Texans, had occupied the extreme southern limits of New Mexico since July made the governor's appeals for enlistments more realistic to the lethargic natives. In a proclamation issued at this time in Spanish and English, the governor said:

. . . This enemy is Texas and the Texans. . . . They threaten you with ruin and vengeance. They strive to cover the iniquity of their marauding inroad, under the pretense, that they are under the authority of a new arrangement they call a Confederacy, but in truth a rebel organization. . . . Their long smothered vengeance against our Territory and people, they now seek to gratify.⁵⁴

In another proclamation dated September 9, 1861, he again counseled:

Citizens of New Mexico, your territory has been invaded, the integrity of your soil has been attacked, the property of peaceful and industrious citizens has been destroyed or converted to the use of the invaders, and the enemy is already at your doors. You cannot, you must not, hesitate to take up arms in defense of your homes, firesides and families. Your manhood calls upon you to be alert and to be vigilant in the protection of the soil of your birth, where repose the sacred remains of your ancestors and which was left by them as a rich heritage to you, if you have the valor to defend it.⁵⁵

That the governor was experiencing the greatest difficulty in enlisting a volunteer force was revealed in a letter

53. John S. Watts who had gone to Washington to confer with officials in the summer of 1861, noted the activity of Governor Connelly in a letter to President Lincoln. Watts to Lincoln, n.d., Washington, N. A., Justice Department Records, Attorney General MSS.

54. Henry Connelly, *Address to the People of New Mexico*, broadside, Huntington Library Collections.

55. Henry Connelly, *Address*, September 9, 1861, N. A., State Department Records, Territorial Papers, II.

by Canby to an army official. He wrote that in his opinion the natives would take steps for the defense of the territory "with great tardiness, looking with greater concern to their private and petty interests." He also feared that their personal and political quarrels were of greater importance to them than defending the country against aggression. As to their fighting ability, he anticipated nothing, "unless strongly supported by regular troops."⁵⁶

Under such circumstances, Governor Connelly, Colonel Canby, and their subordinates worked to save New Mexico to the Union. Strong means were employed in some instances to quiet what the governor called "the disaffected element." A number of men were placed under military guard and others merely cautioned. Spruce M. Baird, a friend of the governor's for a decade, was arrested and later suffered confiscation of his property.⁵⁷ The *Santa Fé Gazette* that had begun as an abolitionist newspaper and eventually had become the strongest pro-southern newspaper in New Mexico, now ceased its attacks on abolitionism, Abraham Lincoln, and what it had formerly termed "northern tyranny." According to William Need, the *Gazette* had been induced to change its editorial policy by being well paid for publishing official documents.⁵⁸

In November, 1861, the governor announced his support of a measure to be introduced at the next session of the legislature for the repeal of the slave code. He described the code as "not congenital with our history, our feelings or interests."⁵⁹ When the legislature convened during the following month, among the first measures considered was a bill for the repeal of this act.⁶⁰ No opposition developed,

56. A. A. Hayes, "The New Mexico Campaign of 1862, a Stirring Chapter of our late Civil War," *Magazine of American History*, XXV (1886), 173.

57. William Need to Simon Cameron, Fort Fauntleroy, New Mexico, September 27, 1861, N. A., War Department Records, Secretary of War Document File.

58. *Idem*.

59. Henry Connelly, *Address to the People of New Mexico*, broadside, Huntington Library Collections.

60. *Laws of the Territory of New Mexico. Passed by the Legislative Assembly, Session of 1861-1862.*

and it was repealed immediately. The governor and the members of the legislature did not feel the necessity of taking action on Indian slavery or of withdrawing the more stringent clauses of the laws of peonage.

In a message to the legislature, Connelly made a statement of faith in the cause of the Union, and condemned the action of southern states that were unwilling to settle differences of opinion by peaceful methods. He stated that although New Mexico might have given cause for assertions that the territory was sympathetic to the South, the people had remained steadfast in their loyalty to the federal government. He noted that although New Mexico could not furnish troops for participation in the war beyond its limits, the people had the opportunity of showing their loyalty in other ways. By the purchase of government bonds, bearing 7.3% interest and tax exempt, the patriots in New Mexico could prove to the older sections that the people of the territory believed in the inviolability of the Union. Finally, the governor called attention to a levy of \$63,000 placed on New Mexico by the federal government for support of war measures. He expressed confidence, however, that this would be repealed, once the federal authorities realized the impossibility of raising so large a sum in a region that had been made desolate by recurring Indian depredations.⁶¹

In another address delivered shortly thereafter, Connelly assailed the Confederacy:

We have no interests to promote, by being drawn within the destinies of the rebels and rebellion. All in that direction is danger and ruin. Listen not to their agents or emissaries, whether sent for mischief, or shall be found as traitors, living among us. In the midst of our wrongs and dangers, neutrality is without excuse. He that is not with us, is for the rebels and rebellion, and his sympathies favor the invaders.—The Texans may circulate

61. *The First Annual Message of Governor Connelly . . .*, December 4, 1861, pamphlet, Huntington Library Collections.

their seditious papers and proclamations, by traitors to us among our people. Be not deceived by these pretensions.⁶²

So frequent were the rumors of an advancing Texan army that the people north of the Jornada, a desert in central New Mexico, would not have been greatly surprised at any military operations. An increase in the enlistments was evident, however, during the winter of 1861-1862.⁶³ In an effort to strengthen further the federal defense, Colonel Canby appealed to Governor William Gilpin of Colorado Territory for aid. The governor replied that secession sentiment was so rife in that direction that until conditions improved, it would not be expedient to despatch troops beyond the limits of that territory.⁶⁴ Actually, however, Governor Connelly and Colonel Canby had performed what at first had appeared to be an impossible task. Between five and six thousand volunteers had signed up, arms had been issued them, and some measure of fighting spirit aroused.⁶⁵

Canby could anticipate no support to the Union south of the Jornada. Acting in close conjunction with the secession conventions of southern states, the inhabitants of southern New Mexico had been functioning under a Confederate government since the summer of 1861, and had renounced all allegiance to the Union even earlier than that time.

(to be concluded)

62. Henry Connelly, *Address to the Legislative Assembly of New Mexico*, January 29, 1862, N. A., State Department Records, Territorial Papers, New Mexico, II.

63. John T. Russell, comp., *Official register N. M. volunteers called into service of the United States under the President's Proclamation of May 3, 1861* (Santa Fé, 1862).

64. William Gilpin to E.R.S. Canby, Denver, October 26, 1861, N. A., War Department Records, Ninth Military Department, Document Files.

65. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 374.

NEW MEXICO'S WARTIME FOOD PROBLEMS, 1917-1918: A CASE STUDY IN EMERGENCY ADMINISTRATION

By GEORGE WINSTON SMITH

I. MOBILIZATION FOR THE FOOD CRISIS

NEW MEXICO'S people entered the First World War with sober awareness of the grave problems that faced them. Although physical separation from the scene of action tended to lessen the vivid imagery associated with large troop movements and other tangible manifestations of the war-spirit, a basic dislike for Prussian militarism was no less ingrained in the minds of New Mexican citizens than it was in the social thinking of any other part of the Union. What is more, New Mexico had at least two war problems that perhaps no other state had in as intense a degree. One of these problems was fear of attack from Mexico during the early months of the war. The other was the specter of a food shortage that might reduce the state's population to hunger before the hardships of a first war-winter could be overcome. Already, in April, 1917, both New Mexico and the nation as a whole were threatened with short crops at precisely the time when there was a vastly increased demand for all agricultural products. Overburdened railroads could no longer be expected as they had been before to bring into New Mexico fully sixty percent of its food supply. Yet there can be no doubt that in the crisis New Mexicans on the whole responded with vigor and courage. That the tasks of food production, conservation, and the like were performed reasonably well can be considered as a valid commentary upon the abilities of ordinary men and women living in a free democracy.

At the time the United States began its first war with Germany, weather reports from many parts of the country were discouraging hopes for a successful harvest. Crop estimates forecast a fifty million bushel slump in the Ameri-

can winter wheat crop; it was thought the potato crop would be 25 percent below normal.¹ In New Mexico the weather records told of one of the driest, coldest spring seasons in history.² Late frosts damaged peaches, pears, apricots, and alfalfa of the southern counties, while throughout March over one third of the state had no precipitation, and the stored depth of irrigation water fell perilously low.³ Nor was there to be much rain later in the growing season. New Mexico was destined to have a drought year: yearly snow and rainfall in Santa Fé from 1878 to 1927 averaged 14.27 inches—in 1917 it was 5.03 inches.⁴ Nevertheless, the people of New Mexico resolved to increase agricultural production by enlarging the acreage of food crops.

Since many farmers had not yet planted their seed when war came, the backward season was at least in one respect an advantage. To be sure some of the farmers who already had put in their crops pleaded it would be difficult to increase their acreage for that reason, and because of the shortage of feed for their teams.⁵ But that was not the usual response. Even before the declaration of war, the county agents of the Coöperative Extension Service of the State College and Department of Agriculture began to survey the prospects for increased production.⁶ Their reports were encouraging. As an illustration, it was found that in Torrance county good dry land farms were then available which might increase the cultivated area there as much as 500 percent.⁷ Similarly in Union county it was discovered that while 30,000 acres were planted to wheat, the total acreage could

1. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, April 7, 20, 1917.

2. *Ibid.*, April 17, 1917.

3. Albuquerque *Morning Journal*, April 11, 15, 1917.

4. *Climatic Summary for the United States, Weather Bulletin W*, (Washington, D. C., [1930]), Section 27, p. 14.

5. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, May 4, 1917.

6. A. C. Cooley, State College, to C. B. Smith, Washington, D. C., April 23, 1917. Department of Agriculture Archives, the National Archives, Acc. 174, Dr. 114. (Hereafter, unless otherwise designated, all Department of Agriculture Archives materials will have the classification number given above; it will not be repeated for each item.)

7. Roland Harwell, Estancia, to *id.*, April 13, 1917, *ibid.*

be over three times that amount.⁸ Well might an editor conclude:⁹

Thousands of acres of rich land lie idle, while the State buys its flour, vegetables, sugar, meats, and even grain for its livestock in other states. New Mexico has a remarkable advantage over older states. In these an increase in food supply may be had by stopping waste and increasing production per acre. In New Mexico there is a third way, of placing under cultivation new land . . . New Mexico never faced such a golden opportunity to make money and get in line to feed itself.

Granting that high prices tended to increase acreage,¹⁰ it does not follow that New Mexicans acted solely on that motive. Rather, they accepted the challenge of a food shortage with many different manifestations of organizing zeal and patriotic coöperation. To give a few instances: citizens of the Estancia valley formed a "patriotic production league"; Pecos valley farmers who were members of the Berrendo Association pledged themselves to utilize every foot of ground; so too the Eddy County Farm and Livestock Improvement Association formulated plans for extended activities. As a stimulus, the State Land Office at the direction of Commissioner R. P. Ervien sent to every holder of leased state grazing lands a letter granting permission to use such lands for agricultural purposes without any increase in rent paid to the state. Consequently within a month no less than 15,740 acres of this grass land had been planted or broken to planting for food and forage crops. Also work was ordered to be stopped on all state highways until crops could be planted; tractors and men thus released were sent to plant fields on the state lands. Four hundred convicts were assigned to labor there.¹¹

8. Orren Beaty, [n.p.] County agent of Union county, to [n.n., n.p.], April, [n.d.], 1917, *ibid.*

9. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, April 7, 1917.

10. J. W. Knorr, Carlsbad, to A. C. Cooley, State College, April 12, 1917, Department of Agriculture Archives.

11. Albuquerque *Morning Journal*, April 15, 24, 30, 1917; Santa Fé *New Mexican*, April 16, May 2, 14, 1917.

New Mexico's cities were equally aware of the food crisis. In Santa Fé, Levi A. Hughes, president of the First National Bank of Santa Fé, suggested that Santa Fé business men should organize to grow potatoes, beans, and corn on a large scale in the mountain valleys of Santa Fé National Forest. Business men would finance the venture and sell the crop to consumers at cost of production.¹² Both the Albuquerque and Santa Fé water companies offered low rates to city gardeners,¹³ as wealthy citizens and civic organizations promised awards for bumper crops in "war gardens."¹⁴ To supply the less fortunate residents of Santa Fé with vegetables, the Santa Fé Chamber of Commerce began to raise a community garden fund.¹⁵ Local speakers advised Women's clubs to turn to chicken raising. Anticipating a labor shortage on the farms, the Rotary club of Albuquerque asked representative farmers to a luncheon where the club might get an estimate of the number of boys that could be put to work on the farms. The Rotarians proposed to negotiate with school boards to have this employment count as a part of the school course.¹⁶ Already seventeen University of New Mexico students had been given permission to leave the university and receive full academic credit for organizing their local farming communities, impressing farmers with the need for planting maximum acreage, and tabulating all untilled land in their respective vicinities.¹⁷ Later a proclamation by New Mexico's governor commissioned the superintendent of schools of each county in the state as an official organizer of the United States Boys Working Reserve. This was a nation-wide program then being set up under the Department of Labor.¹⁸ Still another public official who was alert to the need of competent direction was Jonathan H. Wagner, the state superintendent

12. *Ibid.*, April 19, 1917.

13. Albuquerque *Morning Journal*, April 17, 1917.

14. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, April 19, August 24, 1917.

15. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1917.

16. Albuquerque *Morning Journal*, April 19, 1917.

17. *Ibid.*, April 20, 1917.

18. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, May 4, 1917.

of public instruction. He suggested that local school boards should hire one or more able persons to guide the gardening activities of children and grown people in each community, and that teachers or demonstrators should be employed to take charge of neighborhood canning operations.¹⁹

Peculiarly troublesome were the ways and means of acquiring seed for the new crops. Many farmers were anxious to plant but couldn't do so because they lacked either seed, feed, equipment, or the financial means needed to secure them. In the emergency, local groups had to provide the farmers with essential credit. To serve Bernalillo county, four commercial institutions incorporated the Farm Extension Company. So too in San Miguel county fourteen men who had a working capital of \$9,000 formed the Inter-county Seed and Livestock Improvement Association. They furnished credit to 468 farmers. Raton business men borrowed from their county treasury \$15,000 with which to buy seed for resale to farmers, with the understanding that those who could not pay cash should be given the seed on the security of non-interest bearing crop mortgages. In Carlsbad a bank loaned without interest a considerable sum to the Farm Bureau of Eddy county.²⁰ In at least one instance a large corporation, the Chino Copper Company, extended \$5,000 credit to those who wanted seed in Grant and Luna counties.²¹ Still, in spite of these instances of local financing, there was a growing conviction that there should be a special session of the state legislature to formulate a system of state-wide agricultural credit.

For other reasons as well it was felt that a more permanent form of organization was needed to continue the war-time food drive. Speaking at a loyalty meeting in Albuquerque, E. C. Crampton, a Raton political leader, declared: "We must organize. In our cities and towns and in the

19. *Ibid.*, April 25, 1917.

20. W. L. Elser, "Fourth Annual Report of County Agent Work in New Mexico . . . 1917" (New Mexico County Agent Leader's Report for 1917), p. 17, Department of Agriculture Archives.

21. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, May 3, 1917.

country and communities 'round them, there must be coöperation among all our people . . ."²² Only by organization would it be possible to regulate and coordinate the enthusiastic response which the people already had made in the food crisis. Therefore, at the request of Governor W. E. Lindsey, a number of prominent citizens from all parts of the state met in Santa Fé on April 21, 1917 to organize a "Council of State Defense."²³ With Crampton as its chairman the council intended to keep the seriousness of the food shortage before the people, and to press forward all efforts for greater production.²⁴ Commonly known as the "New Mexico War Board," it was, of course, a volunteer organization appointed by the governor in advance of any legislative authority. However, at the very time it was created a call for an extra session of the New Mexico legislature was pending, and there were many who assumed that both legislative appropriations and guidance were essential to emergency food raising and other defense measures. In fact, Governor Lindsey's call for a special legislative session stressed the need for greater effort to provide for the production, conservation, distribution, and marketing of food.²⁵

One of the disturbing questions that awaited the legislators' judgment concerned the role to be played by the New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts (commonly known as State College) in the food program. Because of political entanglements the college had been cut off by the previous legislature without an appropriation beyond its barest needs, but its partisans were hopeful that a grant of funds and authority would allow it to recover some influence by leading the campaign for a greater food supply.²⁶

22. Albuquerque *Morning Journal*, April 11, 1917.

23. *Ibid.*, April 22, 1917.

24. "Agricultural Emergency Program Adopted by the State War Committee . . .", Council of National Defense Papers, War Department Archives, the National Archives, CND 1¼-A1,NA(jk-lm). (Hereafter, unless otherwise designated, all Council of National Defense Papers cited will have the classification number given above; it will not be repeated for each item.)

25. Albuquerque *Morning Journal*, April 27, 1917.

26. *Ibid.*, April 18, 20, 1917.

Opportunely enough, a new board of regents had just chosen an aggressive new president, A. D. Crile, to guide the college through dangerous political shoals. Crile was a former clergyman, but for a number of years before his appointment he had devoted his time to large-scale farming in the Pecos valley. Politically he had been active in the Republican party, and had seconded the nomination of the conservative Republican H. O. Bursum for governor at the Republican convention of August, 1916.²⁷ Indeed, it became clear that the sentiment favoring an extra session of the legislature also was proof that politics inevitably would have its place in New Mexico's food problems.

Perhaps it was unfortunate at such a time of crisis that New Mexican political alignments were blurred by venomous factional controversy. The "Progressivism" of an era that was soon to be ended by the war itself still tended in 1917 to act as a disruptive leaven in the ranks of the Republican and Democratic party organizations. Certainly no one had forgotten that many "Liberal" Republicans had bolted the State Republican ticket in the fall of 1916 to vote for Democratic candidates in protest against the conservative or "Old Guard" Republican leaders. It was in part due to this Republican "split" that the Democrats were able to send A. A. Jones to the United States senate, and to elect Ezequiel C. de Baca in the gubernatorial contest. On the other hand, the Republicans were strong enough with the aid of the gerrymander to put through their candidates for a considerable number of state offices, including the election of Washington E. Lindsey, to the lieutenant governorship.²⁸ Lindsey, to be sure, was known to look with favor upon some of the liberal ideas of the "progressives." He was not a strong leader of the "Old Guard," although at times he found it expedient to co-operate with it. After the death of Governor De Baca in February, 1917, he was projected into the center of the

27. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, April 12, 1917.

28. Ralph E. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1911-1917), V, 410-420.

factional struggle, and ere the elections of 1918 he was destined to be thrown into discard by the Republican "organization."²⁹ In spite of Republican gains there in 1916, the state senate still had strong Democratic spokesmen at the outbreak of the war. "Old Guard" Republicans, however, largely controlled the New Mexico house of representatives. Under such circumstances, it was not remarkable that a deadlock between the two houses developed shortly after the legislature convened on May 1, 1917.

Before the extra-session was many days old, the house of representatives reported a bill which proposed a defense appropriation of \$1,500,000, and called for a "Council of Defense" of five members to replace Governor Lindsey's "War Board." Members of the senate then attacked the suggested grant as exorbitant, and stoutly maintained that \$500,000 would be more than sufficient for defense measures.³⁰ The *Santa Fé New Mexican*, an opponent of the "Old Guard," immediately charged that the Republican leaders were trying to use the war emergency to build up "a powerful machine chiefly among the native people by the use of the emergency appropriation, [and] to furnish henchmen unlimited food and seed and money for political purposes at the expense of the security and the comfort and the sustenance of the people."³¹ Then too, the senate objected to investing the proposed Council of Defense with authority which would deprive the governor of his constitutional powers. Only after considerable haggling did they reach a compromise: the appropriation was set at \$750,000, and the Council of Defense was constituted as an "advisory board" composed of nine members.³²

Heedless of Democratic pleas that the governor should make nonpartisan choices in his selection of the Council of Defense, or if political appointments were made that they

29. For a biographical sketch of Lindsey, see, Charles F. Coan, *A History of New Mexico* (Chicago and New York, 1925), II, 8-9.

30. *Santa Fé New Mexican*, November 13, 1916, May 5, 1917.

31. *Ibid.*, May 9, 1917.

32. *Ibid.*, May 7, 1917.

should balance one another, the council from the beginning had a predominant membership of "Old Guard" Republicans.³³ Its chairman, Secundino Romero, was a prominent ranchman and Republican chieftain from San Miguel county. More important as the real leader of the council was the chairman of its executive committee, Charles Springer of Santa Fé. Springer was a coal mine operator and a vital if unobtrusive cog in the "Old Guard" Republican state organization.³⁴ One of the few Democratic members, R. E. Putney of Albuquerque, resigned within two weeks, admittedly to give time to other affairs which included plans to secure the Democratic nomination for United States senator in 1918.³⁵

It was only reasonable that the Council of Defense should affiliate at once with the Council of National Defense of the United States. Created by the national government in 1916 as a part of a preparedness program, the Council of National Defense by the early summer of 1917 had become one of the most inclusive and far-reaching of all the federal government's war-time agencies.³⁶ Under its direction the state council extended its organization downward to the counties. Within a relatively short time, county councils of defense had been organized in all the state's twenty-eight counties.³⁷ Some large counties were divided into districts, each with its own district council. After a time, community councils of defense were set up in school districts or other convenient divisions in various localities.³⁸

33. For the Council's membership, see, *Final Report of the Council of Defense of the State of New Mexico* (Santa Fé, 1920), 3.

34. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, October 30, 1916; Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., September 8, 1917, United States Food Administration Papers, the National Archives, FA6HA1-3087. (Unless otherwise specified, all letters, telegrams, memoranda, etc. of food administration officials are in the United States Food Administration Papers. All classification numbers cited have reference to that collection.)

35. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, May 17, 1917.

36. "Preliminary Inventory of the Council of National Defense Records, 1916-1921" (Processed, Washington, D. C., 1942), vii-ix.

37. Walter M. Danburg, Santa Fé, to Elliott Dunlap Smith, Washington, D. C., November 3, 1917, Council of National Defense Papers.

38. *Final Report of the New Mexico Council of Defense*, 18.

There was also a woman's auxiliary of the state council, begun even before that body came into existence. Until it was reorganized and renamed the Women's Committee of National Defense in March, 1918, its presiding officer was Mrs. W. E. Lindsey. After the reorganization, Mrs. George W. Prichard of Santa Fé became its head.³⁹

Working harmoniously with the defense councils was another war organization that had a vital part in mobilizing the state's food production and conservation efforts. This was the Coöperative Extension Service of the State College and the United States Department of Agriculture. Having been established before the war, its able director, A. C. Cooley, greatly expanded its work in 1917-1918. During 1917 twelve new counties were organized on a permanent basis with county agricultural agents. In addition, it created four farm bureau organizations, and began the formation of others. Yet this expansion was due in considerable measure to increased funds appropriated by the extra session of the legislature, and disbursed through the state council of defense. At one time, early in the summer of 1917, the council gave \$35,000 directly to the State College for use in this emergency work. As a result, the extension service's staff of permanent workers was increased, and thirteen temporary agents with nine assistants were sent out into the counties. After a while an appropriation from the federal government supplemented the state aid.⁴⁰ Ostensibly to "prevent" political considerations from influencing the choice of county agents, the legislative act providing state support stipulated that each agent should be appointed only after his selection by the extension service and committees appointed by the boards of county commissioners of the respective counties. Salaries of the agents were to be

39. "Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense: Report of Organizations . . . March 4, 1918," Council of National Defense Papers. September 11, 1917; *ibid.*; A. C. Cooley, "Third Annual Report of the Coöperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics, State of New Mexico, December 14, 1917." pp. 17-18, Department of Agriculture Archives.

40. Phil H. Lenoir, Santa Fé, to William Browne Hale, Washington, D. C.,

paid in the following way: on the authority of the law passed by the extra session of the legislature, county commissioners could make a special tax levy to cover appropriations for agricultural work in the county, and the state should meet the county appropriation dollar for dollar up to \$2,000 per year in each county.⁴¹

Almost everywhere the people made a good response to the extension service's emergency program. In only one county was there opposition on the part of the board of county commissioners to making the appropriation for county agent work after the people of the county through a required petition had signified that they wanted the services of such an agent.⁴² Including the new agents and emergency workers, the extension service's forces more than doubled in six weeks. Previous plans for peace-time work were put aside, and full attention was given to war food problems. Home demonstration agents, eleven of them, were sent out for the first time.⁴³ The State College itself became a clearing house for all kinds of food information. Hundreds of letters asking for help and advice were received each day, and President Crile spent long hours seeing to it that these inquiries were promptly answered.⁴⁴ If anything, the statement: "The greatest agricultural awakening in the history of New Mexico" was quite an understatement of the far-reaching activities that made up the great mobilization of New Mexico's efforts.

II. THE FOOD ADMINISTRATION: ORGANIZATION AND POLITICS

From the earliest days of the war, New Mexicans looked with apprehension upon rising food prices. In April, 1917, one editor complained, "... We are now facing prices higher than those obtaining in many European nations after a year or so of real war and devastation."¹ His statement was an

1. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, April 18, 1917.

41. New Mexico county agent leader's report, 1917, p. 3.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

43. A. C. Cooley, Third Annual Report, p. 10.

44. Albuquerque *Morning Journal*, April 25, 1917.

exaggeration, but a tabulation made on May 1, 1917 did offer convincing proof of rising prices: wheat was then quoted at \$2.20 per bushel compared with \$.98 a year before, corn was sold for \$1.68 in contrast to \$.80, and other products were proportionately high.²

After spring had turned to summer, at least one irate New Mexican protested against rising prices by sending a letter to the United States Food Administration in Washington, where, probably without having made much of an impression, the lone complaint was perfunctorily answered, marked with blue pencil, and dutifully placed in the administration's growing files.³ But that is not to say that the food administration was not preparing to remedy just such grievances. At the time, the agency was in its early stages, but even then with great vigor it was making plans for extensive operations in every state; it would establish forty-eight state administrations that every household in the land might learn for the first time in American history that civilian food control in wartime could be a reality. Herbert Hoover, recently returned from successful execution of Belgian war-relief, had been designated Federal Food Administrator.⁴ With sober understanding based upon personal observation he well knew the implications of a food shortage when he stated the purposes of food regulation: "... to so guide the trade in the fundamental food commodities as to eliminate vicious speculation, extortion, and wasteful practices, and to stabilize prices in the essential staples."⁵ It only remained for the passage of the Lever Act, August 10, 1917, to set in full motion the many parts of the food

2. *Ibid.*, May 9, 1917.

3. United States Food Administration, Washington, D. C., to I. A. Willis, Pearl, New Mexico, August 14, 1917, (copy), FA6HA1-3087.

4. William C. Mullendore, *History of the United States Food Administration, 1917-1919* (Stanford, 1941), 51-55.

5. [Herbert Hoover], United States Food Administration, Washington, D. C., to Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, August 27, 1917, (copy), FA6HA3-3343.

administration machine.⁶ Empowered by the act to carry out various controls, the federal administration lost no time in setting up its many state organizations. New Mexico, of course, received one of them.

A first step in organizing the New Mexico Administration was the choice of a state Food Administrator; search for him began late in May, and there is no doubt that they had to make a difficult selection. For although he had to serve without remuneration, the state administrator would be required to spend long hours in untangling complex problems which would tax his patience. Both honesty and tact were primary requisites. So following the usual policy in such appointments, Hoover relied upon suggestions from prominent citizens of the state before making a nomination. In that way various names came up for consideration,⁷ and at first the one most persistently mentioned was that of Charles Springer, the effective leader of the state Council of Defense. One of his most valuable recommendations came from Edward Chambers, vice-president of the Santa Fé railroad and a resident of Chicago, who, when called in for his opinion on the matter, told food administration interviewers that Springer appealed to many New Mexicans because he was "a conservative, a good businessman."⁸ President A. D. Crile of State College intimated that Springer would be willing to make the fifty-four workers of the extension service the basis of the state food administration's organization. Since the Council of Defense, the State College, and the extension service were coöperating well, they could effectively unify the state's war effort with respect to the food problem.⁹

6. "An Act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating distribution of agricultural products." August 10, 1917, *The Statutes At Large of the United States* . . . , XL, part 1 (Washington, 1919, pp. 273-276.

7. W. E. Lindsey, Santa Fé, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., May 30, 1917, (telegram), FA6HA3-3343.

8. United States Food Administration memorandum, undated and unsigned, *ibid.*

9. James S. Phillips, Intercollegiate Bureau, Washington, D. C., to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., June 19, 1917, *ibid.*

However, the prominent New Mexican publisher, Bronson M. Cutting, also figured largely in the negotiations. Too young himself to be seriously considered for the post, Cutting consulted in Washington with the head of the food administration's States Administration Division, John W. Hallowell. Possibly because he was serving as a colonel on the staff of Governor W. E. Lindsey (who favored Springer), the publisher's first choice seemed to be Springer, although Springer's "Old Guard" faction had been opposed by the Cutting-owned *Santa Fé New Mexican*.¹⁰ Only after returning to New Mexico did Cutting think differently of it; he then inferentially abandoned Springer by a suggestion that Norman Bartlett, a Republican from Vermejo Park, was the most available candidate.¹¹ Ten days later, while the food administration was still pondering, Democratic senator A. A. Jones suddenly decided to take a part in the affair. He began by sending his secretary together with a *New Mexican*, Ralph C. Ely, to the food administration office. They carried a statement from the senator to the effect that he, a Democrat, highly recommended Ely, a Republican, for the position of state Food Administrator. After conferring with Hallowell and Hoover, Ely stated frankly that he would like the appointment, and that he would gladly volunteer his services for the duration of the war. That was the first the food administration knew of Mr. Ely; he hadn't been so much as mentioned before then. A hastily jotted memorandum noted that Ely's occupation was receiver of the New Mexico Central railroad. It added: "... He is a man of about fifty years and of an energetic type. He seemed to know the state—where he has lived for fifteen years—well."¹² Had the notation been more complete, it would have mentioned that the caller was large but well-built, with a broad, ruddy face—a man who smiled easily and spoke in full voice with dis-

10. J[ohn] W. H[allowell] memorandum, June 17, 1917, *ibid*.

11. Bronson M. Cutting, *Santa Fé*, to John W. Hallowell, Washington, D. C., July 3, 1917, (telegram), *ibid*.

12. "Memo to States Administration Department Regarding Ralph C. Ely of New Mexico," July 13, 1917, *ibid*.

arming candor. A genial, forceful personality must have been the first impression.¹³

Nearly a week after Ely's visit the food administration inquired of Cutting his opinion on Ely's candidacy, and whether or not the New Mexican governor would agree to such a choice. Cutting's reply pointed out that Ely had "some agricultural experience," that he was "energetic and resourceful," and that on the whole he was "well qualified for the position."¹⁴ Two days later he followed his recommendation with another telegram which gave assurances that Governor Lindsey approved of Ely. This message also warned that Norman Bartlett was doubtful about acceptance, whereas Ely had assured Cutting in a personal conversation of his eagerness to have the office. In short, Cutting believed that Ely's appointment would be the best solution of the problem.¹⁵ Unfortunately for everyone concerned, Cutting's opinion was not universal. On July 25, Santa Fé railroad's Edward Chambers confided to food administration officials that Ely was "a politician," and "pretty radical."¹⁶ Then when, in spite of Chambers' warning, Hoover appointed Ely on August 14,¹⁷ telegrams of protest began to arrive at food administration headquarters. H. W. Kelly of the prominent Gross-Kelly Company, wholesale grocers, wired from Las Vegas: "The business interests of New Mexico will be seriously menaced by the appointment of Ralph C. Ely as State Food Commissioner. He is not a businessman and it is to the best interests of the business of New Mexico to have

13. There is a biographical sketch of Ely in Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, V, 204n.

14. John W. Hallowell, Washington, D. C., to Bronson M. Cutting, Santa Fé, July 18, 1917, (telegram copy), FA6HA12-3447; Bronson M. Cutting, Santa Fé, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., July 18, 1917, (telegram), FA6HA3-3343.

15. *Id.* to John W. Hallowell, Washington, D. C., July 20, 1917, (telegram), *ibid.*

16. United States Food Administration memorandum: conference of Edward Chambers with F[rederic] C. W[alcott], J[ohn] W. H[allowell], and J[ohn] R. R[ichardson], July 25, 1917, *ibid.*

17. Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., to Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, August 14, 1917, (telegram copy), *ibid.*; *id.* to *id.*, August 15, 1917, (telegram copy), *ibid.*; Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., August 14, 1917, (telegram), *ibid.*

his appointment suspended or his powers limited.”¹⁸ Even more outspoken was a communication from the Wholesale Grocers Club of New Mexico, which had as its secretary, M. L. Fox, the hardhitting and factious editor of the Albuquerque *Morning Journal*.¹⁹ For a number of years Fox and Ely had been waging a bitter feud, highlighted by Fox’s opposition to Ely’s political aspirations, and by Ely’s endeavor to secure an option on the Albuquerque *Evening Herald*.²⁰

Fox could charge with some truth that Ely as liberal chairman of the Republican State Committee and receiver of the New Mexico Central railroad had used every opportunity to advance his own candidacy for the gubernatorial nomination in 1916. It was common knowledge that, after a calamitous battle against the “Old Guard” in the Republican state convention, Ely together with some other members of the liberal group (including the editor of Bronson Cutting’s *New Mexican*), had supported Democratic state candidates led by Senator Jones in the 1916 election.²¹ Fox too, regardless of his aversion to Ely, had used his influence in favor of the Democrats in the fall of 1916. After that, however, his editorial policy had been remarkably friendly toward the Republican dominated State College and state Council of Defense.²² In August, 1917, it was patent that any attempt by Jones to balance the Republican strength of the Council of Defense by appointment of the “heretical” Ely would meet with violent opposition both from the *Morning Journal* and from many conservative business men. As a

18. Undated United States Food Administration memorandum, *ibid.* This memorandum quotes from the following telegrams: H. W. Kelly, Las Vegas, to Edward Chambers, Washington, D. C., August 17, 1917; T. H. O’Brien, [n.p.], to Senator A. A. Jones, Washington, D. C., August 18, 1917; J. Cunningham, [Las Vegas?], to *id.*, August 17, 1917; See also, the Las Vegas *Optic*, cited in Santa Fé *New Mexican*, August 21, 1917.

19. M. L. Fox, Albuquerque, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., August 18, 1917, *ibid.*

20. *Id.* to *id.*, November 24, 1917, *ibid.*

21. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, V, 414-420; Santa Fé *New Mexican*, October 31, November 11, 1916.

22. Albuquerque *Morning Journal*, September 8, 21, 1917.

liberal Ely had crossed swords with the mine operators of the state on matters of taxation and other economic issues.²³ In fact only four days after his appointment as state Food Administrator, Ely appeared before the New Mexico state Corporation Commission to protest in the public's interest against a 15 cent per ton increase on intra-state shipments of coal and coke.²⁴ Charles Springer, it should be remembered, was one of the largest coal mine operators in the state, as well as stalwart of the Republican faction that had "steam-rollered" Ely in 1916. Moreover, Ely might remind Herbert Hoover that Governor Lindsey had formerly been "one of my men," but he could not convince himself offhand that the governor was completely untrammelled by the powerful Council of Defense.²⁵

Herbert Hoover presently found out enough about the factional squabbles to make him uneasy, so to allay his fears Ely held conferences with Governor Lindsey and Springer. The meetings, Ely eagerly reported, were "exceedingly pleasant."²⁶ But, at the other side of the conference table, Springer too acted in response to urgings from Washington. Walter S. Gifford, head of the Council of National Defense, was just as eager as Hoover that the state Council of Defense and the state Food Administration should coöperate in New Mexico.²⁷ They all knew that such an enforced truce was unstable and that at any moment open warfare might break out, and for it they did not have long to wait. A difference of opinion over the choice of a state Fuel Administrator brought the war-horses full tilt into the fray. Ely protested to Hoover that any prospective appointee receiving the endorsement of either the state Council of Defense or Governor

23. Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., August 29, September 8, 1917, FA6HA1-3087.

24. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, August 18, 1917.

25. Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., September 8, 1917, FA6HA1-3087.

26. *Id.*, to United States Food Administration, Washington, D. C., September 1, 1917, *ibid.*

27. Charles Springer, Santa Fé, to Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, August 17, 1917, (copy), Council of National Defense Papers, CND14-A11.

Lindsey's administration would be a dangerous choice for reason of the fact that selfish coal mining interests dominated the state government.²⁸ At the time Springer was straining every nerve trying to "sell" his candidate for the office (George H. Van Stone) to the Council of National Defense officials in Washington.²⁹ Great must have been Springer's chagrin when, thanks to Senator Jones' influence Democratic ex-governor MacDonald got the place.³⁰ Furthermore, Ely's announcement of his food administration assistants was sufficient to verify Springer's worst fears about that organization.

For publicity director Ely chose E. Dana Johnson, editor of Bronson Cutting's Santa Fé *New Mexican* and its weekly supplement *El Nuevo Mexicano*.³¹ J. H. Toulouse, field leader of the Boys and Girls Club Work in the extension service, but also a personal representative of Ely in the 1916 political campaign, became the Food Administration's field secretary or "contact man."³² Second in command to Ely with the title of executive secretary was Melvin T. Dunlavy, a state senator from Santa Fé who enjoyed popularity among liberal Republicans and Democrats.³³ Perhaps it was Hoover's urgent request that the state administration's expenses should not exceed one thousand dollars per month that prevented Ely from making more appointments of the same kind.³⁴ No doubt the men chosen were capable enough, but their factional relationships allowed M. L. Fox to reiter-

28. Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., September 10, 1917, (telegram), FA6HA1-3087.

29. Charles Springer, Santa Fé, to George F. Porter, Washington, D. C., October 15, 1917, (telegram), Council of National Defense Papers, CND14-A13(1).

30. "W. G. Taussig: Memorandum for Mr. E. D. Smith," October 9, 1917, *ibid.*; George F. Porter, Washington, D. C., to Charles Springer, Santa Fé, October 20, 1917, (telegram copy), *ibid.*

31. Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., September 8, 1917, FA6HA1-3087; *id.* to John W. Hallowell, Washington, D. C., November 9, 1917, *ibid.*

32. Albuquerque *Evening Herald*, September 10, 1917.

33. Melvin T. Dunlavy, Santa Fé, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., November 19, 1917, FA6HA1-3087.

34. Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., to Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, September 7, 1917, *ibid.*

ate without fear of any libel suits that Ely was making "an attempt open and blatant . . . to use the war for personal advertisement."³⁵

Opposition to Ely such as Fox encouraged received further incentive when a district judge removed Ely from his lucrative receivership of the New Mexico Central railroad.³⁶ Immediately, Ely's foes accepted this action as proof that he had connived to scrap the important rail line for profit that he might realize on such a deal.³⁷ Equally culpable in the eyes of Ely's enemies was the judge's ruling that the deposed receiver should repay \$6,327.58 drawn for excessive expenses from the railroad's funds over and above his authorized salary and expenditures. Anyhow, because the office of state Food Administrator carried no salary, Fox reasoned that the loss of the receivership would force Ely to resign from the food administration.³⁸

Promptly upon hearing of Ely's predicament, two federal food administration officials in Washington betook themselves to Senator Jones' spacious office, and spent more than an hour with him contemplating the New Mexican muddle. Jones admitted his embarrassment over Fox's attacks upon Ely, especially since the self-styled "independent" Albuquerque *Morning Journal* with the largest circulation of any newspaper in the state had supported him for senator in 1916. But notwithstanding his unwillingness to alienate the *Journal* the senator counseled his interviewers not to consider Ely's removal from the receivership as more than a political maneuver. A "typical political judge," known as an "Old Guard standpatter" and manager of the Republican State Central Committee's speaker's bureau in 1916, had been appointed to the bench only about six weeks before he handed down the decision in Ely's case. The senator cagily refused to make a definite avowal, but gave the

35. Albuquerque *Morning Journal*, September 11, 1917.

36. *Ibid.*, September 16, 1917.

37. H. W. Kelly, East Las Vegas, to A. A. Jones, Washington, D. C., September 17, 1917, FA6HA3-3343.

38. Albuquerque *Morning Journal*, September 16, 1917.

impression he thought Ely should be given at least a reasonable time to show whether or not he could "make good" as Food Administrator.³⁹ Therefore, by the grace of Senator Jones, Ely, shorn though he was of his receivership salary, was able to hang on as Food Administrator; he still wasn't any closer to agreement with some New Mexico merchants whose concurrence was essential to a successful administration.

Ely's former identification with liberalism had won for him the endorsement of the United Mine Workers and other labor organizations; it had not helped him to appreciate the needs of conservative business men. After taking the food administration office his attitude toward the merchants at first seemed to be one of half-concealed distrust. On occasion he berated the "mosquito fleet of profiteers."⁴⁰ That he interpreted the objectives of the food administration somewhat differently than Herbert Hoover was certain when he wrote: "The whole effort of the Food Administration is bent to two ends: First, to secure to the producers as large a price as is possible and the fairest possible treatment. Second, to secure to the consumer his food supplies at a reasonable cost. To these ends the middle men are constantly squeezed."⁴¹ Any "squeeze" upon the merchants could only serve to reinforce their dislike of his methods and motives. Under Secretary Fox's direction, the Wholesale Grocers Club decided to have as little to do with Ely as the law required of them; in time their lack of coöperation might cause his removal.⁴² Nor were these merchants content with a negative attitude. Fox continued to publish editorials which harped upon his thesis that the people of the state had no confidence in the Food Administrator.⁴³

39. "Memorandum, George H. Warrington," September 27, 1917, FA6HA3-3343; Santa Fé *New Mexican*, August 6, 1917.

40. Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to United States Food Administration, Washington, D. C., October 25, 1917, FA6HA1-3087.

41. *Id.*, Albuquerque, to Pedro F. Salazar, Chamita, July 15, 1918, FA6HA3-3343.

42. "Memorandum, John W. Hallowell," October 25, 1917, *ibid.*

43. Melvin T. Dunlavy, Santa Fé, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., November 19, 1917, FA6HA1-3087.

In October, Fox attended a conference of retailers in Washington. While there he waited upon J. W. Hallowell in the food administration office so that he might repeat the charges against Ely that he had already made in letters to the food administration and to Senator Jones.⁴⁴ Although he received no definite encouragement, Fox then returned to New Mexico and began to support the *federal* food administration program while ignoring the food administration's state officials. Herbert Hoover began to receive inquiries, as, for example, the one from Charles Ilfeld and Company (Albuquerque wholesale grocers), asking for a statement of Ely's position and duties. Fox was quoted as saying that Ely had no authority to call a meeting of the grocers to explain food regulations, or to see that those regulations were carried out.⁴⁵ Yet, irritating though they might be, such obstructionist tactics were only preliminary to a decisive move which came late in November. For then, while Ely was at bean-marketing conferences in Washington and New York, Fox called a statewide meeting of all grocery wholesalers and retailers. This could be interpreted only as an attempt to form New Mexican grocers into a united front opposed to Ely.⁴⁶ It was done in defiance of a telegram from Theodore F. Whitmarsh of the federal food administration,⁴⁷ and it was accompanied by a threat to publish in the *Congressional Record* "facts" about Ely's supposed unfitness. Summarizing his accusations, Fox enumerated Ely's previous failures in business enterprises, his extravagance, lack of scruples in paying personal obligations, and the alleged attempt to run the state food organization as a

44. Hallowell memorandum, October 25, 1917, FA6HA3-3343.

45. M. L. Fox, Albuquerque, to Theodore F. Whitmarsh, Washington, D. C., November 26, 1917, *ibid.*; Charles Ilfeld and Co., Albuquerque, to "Hoover National Food Administration," Washington, D. C., November 21, 1917, (telegram), *ibid.*

46. Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to John W. Hallowell, Washington, D. C., December 5, 1917, FA6HA2-3194; J. H. Toulouse, Santa Fé, to Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, November 29, 1917, (copy), *ibid.*

47. M. L. Fox, Albuquerque, to Theodore F. Whitmarsh, Washington, D. C., November 24, 1917, FA6HA3-3343.

political machine.⁴⁸ At that point the federal food administration did the expected: it frantically telegraphed to Senator Jones (who had been spending some weeks at his home in East Las Vegas), and besought him to avert disaster. The telegram came after Jones had left for Washington, but probably it would have made little difference to him. For, while refusing to become excited over the food administration wrangle, Jones had talked quietly with Fox and others during his stay in New Mexico. Once in Washington, he met the food administration officials and calmed their fears. He advised them that it was the general consensus of opinion among "leading men" of New Mexico (including the governor) that Ely was doing well as an administrator. The Wholesale Grocers Club, he pointed out, was a comparatively small group, and outside of its membership quite a few large retailers and wholesalers already had agreed to support the state food administration.⁴⁹ Events proved that the senator was at least partially correct.

With rather bewildering suddenness Ely received a gratifying response to invitations for a wholesale-retail grocers' conference to be held at Santa Fé on December 6. At least seventy-five of the most representative dealers were there, and not the least prominent were all the members of the Wholesale Grocers Club. A committee made up of R. E. Putney, Max Nordhaus, and Thomas A. Roth adopted a resolution endorsing the state food administration.⁵⁰ What is more, the merchants agreed to furnish the salary of a grocery division head for the state food administration. This appointee would be an expert in the field, but would have no financial interest in any grocery enterprise. Under his guidance the merchants would observe the food regula-

48. *Id.*, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., November 24, 1917, *ibid.*

49. "Memorandum of Interview with Senator Jones of New Mexico," December 11, 1917, *ibid.*

50. Melvin T. Dunlavy, Santa Fé, to Theodore F. Whitmarsh, Washington, D. C., December 6, 1917; *ibid.*; E. Dana Johnson, Santa Fé, to United States Food Administration: Allen, December 7, 1917, FA6HA2-3194.

tions.⁵¹ Ely had reached a turning-point in his relations with the merchants. Soon afterwards he wrote: "It is my belief that there is not a single big retailer or wholesaler in the state today whose purpose is to avoid compliance with the regulations to the letter."⁵² Fox himself agreed to chat with the victorious administrator, and gave assurances that he would support the food administration propaganda.⁵³ In the spring of 1918, Fox left his newspaper to become professor of economics in State College, and to travel about the state in the interests of the extension division. Thereafter, a reporter from the *Morning Journal* called at the food administration office each day in search of publicity items.⁵⁴ From his point of view Ely could claim a striking success; but it also became evident that after December, 1917, commercial interests wielded an influence in the administration that Ely was not willing to gainsay. More important was the realization that in spite of personal and political issues the people of New Mexico were undertaking to interpret the federal food administration's far-reaching plans.

III. FOOD CONSERVATION PROPAGANDA

In New Mexico as elsewhere the food administration followed a policy laid down by Herbert Hoover, who seemingly had a boundless faith in education and voluntary coöperation. This explains the ardor with which the food administration waged a campaign to convince the average man and woman they should be extraordinarily careful to conserve food. While waste was pictured as a form of sabotage, "conservation" became a patriotic watchword for the times. Particularly urgent was the drive to save sugar, wheat, and fats—all scarce and of universal demand.

51. Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to United States Food Administration, Washington, D. C., December 8, 1917, *ibid.*

52. *Id.* to *id.*, December 26, 1917, FA6HA2-3193.

53. *Id.* to *id.*, December 12, 1917, FA6HA2-3194.

54. E. Dana Johnson, Santa Fé, to John W. Hallowell, Washington, D. C., April 16, 1918; *ibid.*; Rolland K. Goddard, Denver, to W. H. Moran, Washington, D. C., August 28, 1918, United States Food Administration Papers, FA6HA3-3343. This document is a secret service report; hereafter it will be referred to as the Goddard report.

New Mexico was a most difficult state in which to carry on a propaganda drive. Its area was fourth largest in the union. Yet by the 1910 census it had an estimated population of only 383,551—forty-fourth among the states at the time of the first World War.¹ Within its borders varied languages were in use. About sixty-five percent of the people spoke English, and roughly the same number conversed in Spanish, but not nearly so many could read either language or talk easily in both.² The presence of other tongues was demonstrated when the food administration had to request lithographed posters with texts in Italian and Polish to be tacked upon the walls of company stores in mining camps.³ Hence means had to be found to reach scattered and diverse citizens with the singular appeal that food would win the war.

Newspapers could at best influence only a minority, though within their limited range they were of some value in propaganda dissemination. Hostility of the Albuquerque *Morning Journal* and one or two other papers slowly had to be overcome, and it was not until the spring of 1918 that administrator Ely was able to report the New Mexican press was working with him in a satisfactory manner. Even then, there were obstacles difficult to overcome. There were only four daily newspapers in the state, and none of these had a statewide circulation. Sometimes when food conservation matter for newspapers was sent to the press from Washington it didn't "fit" New Mexican conditions.⁴ Moreover, the "plate" material given to those papers which wished ready-

1. Margaret L. Brooks, *Census of Manufacturers, 1914, New Mexico* (Washington, 1917), 3.

2. F. M. Harwood, Albuquerque, to United States Food Administration, States Administration Division, Washington, D. C., August 17, 1918, FA6HA5-3422; Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to John W. Hallowell, Washington, D. C., December 1, 1917, FA6HA2-3194.

3. *Ibid.*

4. "Questionnaire For Report of Federal Food Administrators, New Mexico," March 23, 1918, FA6HC1-3609. New Mexican food administrators submitted a number of reports on similar questionnaire forms. All have the same classification number, which after this will be omitted. The reports will be cited simply as Questionnaire reports, together with the dates of their submission.

to-print fillers many times was not lively enough to be welcome.⁵ Better received were the publicity accounts on mimeographed slips that were dispatched from state headquarters each day by Ely's able "educational director," E. Dana Johnson. But even they were not always printed, and Ely finally concluded that the administration could be successful in its approach only if less mimeographed copy were sent out broadcast to the printers and more publicity stories were especially prepared for each community. Near the end of the war a shortage of linotype operators made an additional problem. To compensate for their dwindling labor supply, newspapers increased their display advertising, patent insides, and the like, so that they might have to set less type. As a consequence, it became harder to insert news releases. Ely was allowed to do no paid advertising, but occasionally he helped a newspaper to secure a full-page advertisement of the food program at the expense of some local merchants.⁶ Many retailers proved willing to promote the propaganda by including food conservation slogans in their display advertising. To illustrate, Ike Davis, a Las Vegas grocer, put the following advice in one advertisement: "Plenty of sugar and butter here, but very little 'Over There.' Let us use a little less here so they can have more 'Over There.'"⁷

That it might supplement its newspaper appeals, the food administration began in the fall of 1917 to issue a weekly four-page *Hoover Bulletin*. This had an extensive mailing list of about forty thousand copies until, after a short while, the federal food administration ordered it to be discontinued because of its heavy cost.⁸ However, numerous pamphlets and circulars from Washington poured out in a steady stream, while lithographed posters continued to be

5. Ralph C. Ely, Albuquerque, to John W. Hallowell, Washington, D. C., April 12, 1918, FA6HA2-3194.

6. Questionnaire reports, June 20, 1918, September 1, 1918.

7. E. Dana Johnson, Santa Fé, to John W. Hallowell, Washington, D. C., December 13, 1917, FA6HA2-3194.

8. Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to *id.*, October 25, 1917, FA6HA1-3087.

distributed through the state food administration office. One of the most interesting series of posters was the "Little American" set, which was used in the elementary schools. Colorful exhibits were prepared under the supervision of A. B. Stroup, and public libraries offered facilities for displays. Because there were only about twelve circulating libraries in the state, Mrs. Harry Wilson, in charge of that division, tried to establish others, chiefly in the Spanish-speaking communities. At about the time when his food administration had its largest personnel, Ely reported that about twenty volunteer speakers and three salaried food administration inspectors were making frequent talks to theater audiences. One of the employees, W. E. Collinge, seemed to be rather popular as a speaker. He had lost an arm in France while fighting with the Canadian army, and he invariably recounted his martial adventures along with an appeal for food-saving.⁹

Another device, the "Hoover Pledge Card," became a central theme around which was built a sustained propaganda effort. In July, 1917, even before the state food administration was set up, the woman's auxiliary of the state Council of Defense undertook to secure housewives' signatures on thousands of food conservation pledge cards.¹⁰ By signing the card each woman agreed: ". . . to accept membership in the United States Food Administration, pledging myself to carry out the directions and advice of the Food Administration in the conduct of my household insofar as my circumstances permit."¹¹ In detail, those who enrolled in the food administration were asked to follow about ten conservation rules. Among the most important of these were the following: to eat plenty, but wisely and without waste; to buy less, cook no more than necessary, and serve smaller portions; whenever possible to use poultry, game, and sea-

9. Questionnaire reports, March 23, June 20, August 1, 1918; United States Food Administration, States Administration Division, Washington, D. C., to Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, February 13, 1918 (copy), FA6HA2-3194.

10. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, July 14, 1917.

11. *Ibid.*, September 26, 1917.

foods in place of beef, mutton, and pork; to use potatoes and other vegetables freely; to save wheat by substituting, in part, corn-meal and other cereal flours for wheat flour; to use vegetable oils for cooking; to enjoy smaller amounts of candy, few sweet drinks, and to use less sugar in tea and coffee.¹²

As soon as the state food administration began to function, it intensified the pledge card drive. At the end of October, it laid great stress upon a national "pledge week" campaign, and after three days of that week a Washington publicity release reported 9,863 new card signers in New Mexico with many other names not counted because of delays in submitting them.¹³ After the special week had ended, Ely decided to continue the propaganda until there might be enrolled nearly all of New Mexico's sixty thousand families. For the work of canvassing he organized the Women of the American Army, composed of mothers, sisters, and wives of New Mexico's soldiers.¹⁴ At length, Ely claimed that of the fifty-five thousand homes in New Mexico, forty thousand finally were affiliated with the food administration through the cards.¹⁵ Still it cannot be said that the response to the pledge card campaign was entirely harmonious. On November 2, J. H. Toulouse, Ely's field representative, admitted that after covering fifteen or more counties in the interests of the campaign he did not believe that fifteen percent of the people were alive to their wartime responsibilities. In many of the communities he found great fear that the pledge cards would lead to the seizure for government use of the citizens' food supplies.¹⁶

After having been gathered together and sorted in the state food administration office, the signed pledge cards

12. *Ibid.*, October 23, 1917.

13. United States Food Administration, Washington, D. C., Press Release no. 400, October 31, 1917, Press Releases, vol. 4.

14. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, October 31, 1917.

15. Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., March 1, 1918, FA6HA2-3193.

16. J. H. Toulouse, Santa Fé, to Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, November 2, 1917 (copy), FA6HA1-3087.

constituted a file for use in sending out more printed propaganda, an extensive amount of which was mailed directly to New Mexican homes.¹⁷ Ely, however, was not satisfied with this "mail-order" method. In the fall of 1917 he announced that a total of 1,300 New Mexican citizens had been made volunteer agents of the state food administration. These appointments were made with the school districts as primary units of organization. Each school district should have one responsible leader from whom the food administration might get information, and through whom it might distribute literature. School children could peddle circulars, pamphlets, etc.¹⁸ But the experiment was something less than satisfactory, and, by the spring of 1918, Ely inclined toward a belief that churches would be more effective as disseminators of printed propaganda. A hindrance there, however, was the religious prejudice which he thought that the state had in abundance. While various "Hoover messages" were read in nearly all churches and fraternal lodges, Ely finally had to admit that he was unable to get proper coördination among them.¹⁹ More useful than masses of literature in presenting the food conservation message were well-staged culinary demonstrations; being both tangible and novel they drew housewives by the hundreds into enthusiastic, crowded meetings.

"Patriotic Week," October 8-14, 1917, was the occasion of an enthusiastic food conservation conference in Albuquerque. At that time "Hoover Headquarters," complete with kitchen equipment, were established in the Occidental building. There the art of conservation and substitution was demonstrated by Mrs. Ruth C. Miller, state industrial education supervisor and the food administration's director

17. Questionnaire report, August 1, 1918.

18. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, October 6, 1917; Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to Alexander Gusdorf, Taos, September 5, 1917 (copy), FA6HA1-3087; *id.* to United States Food Administration, Washington, D. C., December 26, 1917, FA6HA2-3193.

19. Questionnaire report, June 20, 1918; Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to United States Food Administration, Coöperating Organizations Division, Washington, D. C., July 12, 1918, FA6HB9-3576; *id.* to K. S. Clow, Washington, D. C., May 7, 1918, FA6HA2-3193.

of home economics. She was assisted by a uniformed "Hoover Team" of volunteer workers.²⁰ Afterward similar teams of women were organized in many counties for demonstrations,²¹ and sometimes they conducted prize contests for conservation recipes.²² It also became the special province of the state food administration's home economics director to prepare new recipes and wartime diets adaptable to New Mexico's living conditions. She gave much time to techniques of drying fruits and vegetables, to cheese-making, and to pinto bean dishes. In July, 1918, it was decided to instruct five or ten housewives as "inspirational workers," and to dispatch them far and wide to meet "Hoover" demonstration teams for special conferences on the preservation of perishable foods.²³ Approximately the same intention was in mind at a Mother-Daughter Congress which convened in Albuquerque on June 22, 1918, for a week-long series of meetings. Delegates chosen from many parts of the state gathered there, and especially were these women from the remote, inaccessible regions. Each of them came upon official appointment of the United States food administration. All paid their own transportation expenses, but they were fed by the state food administration at a cost of less than fifteen cents per meal, and they received free lodging in University of New Mexico dormitories or in private school buildings. After completing the course of instruction, each participant received the title "Hoover Demonstrator" together with the injunction to teach others in her home community.²⁴

The food administration was not alone in the food conservation work. A. C. Cooley, the active director of the ex-

20. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, October 10, 1917; Albuquerque *Morning Journal*, September 30, 1917.

21. Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to John W. Hallowell, Washington, D. C., December 10, 1917, FA6HA2-3194.

22. Questionnaire report, October 1, 1918; Albuquerque *Morning Journal*, September 11, 1918.

23. Ralph C. Ely, Albuquerque, to Miss Frances Lathrop, Albuquerque, July 2, 1918 (copy), FA6HA3-3343.

24. J. H. Toulouse report [June, 1918], *ibid.*

tension service, placed resident demonstration agents for home economics in seven different counties. Other agents toured from place to place, and were assisted by the woman's auxiliary of the Council of Defense. By December, 1917, no less than 685 meetings attended by 17,056 women had been promoted by the agents.²⁵ Up to that date they distributed over ten thousand bulletins and circulars. These included titles like the following: "The Use of Left-Over Meat in Cookery," "Ways of Using Corn Meal," "The Use of Beans in the Diet," etc.²⁶ As early as May, 1917, the state Council of Defense appointed a publicity director, and two months later it began to issue a weekly bulletin, the *New Mexico War News*. With Guthrie Smith of Santa Fé as editor, it frequently reprinted conservation items gleaned from nation-wide exchanges. In fact it was criticized by national Council of Defense officials for its failure to specialize more upon happenings in New Mexico.²⁷ About a year after it first appeared, the *War News* began to come out also in a bi-monthly Spanish edition. The combined circulation then was around 3,500 copies.²⁸

At times the wartime agencies tried to coöperate, and occasionally as at the Albuquerque mother-daughter congress, they were quite successful. More often, however, their joint efforts ended in stormy disputes. As an illustration, a speaker's bureau under the auspices of the food administration, the woman's auxiliary, and the Council of Defense, was appointed to arrange for orators at patriotic meetings.²⁹ But the bureau was never very active.³⁰ In April, 1918, a national Council of Defense administrator supervising that phase of the work complained that little had

25. Mrs. Lura Dewey Ross, "Report of Home Demonstration Work—1918," Department of Agriculture Archives; A. C. Cooley, Third Annual Report, pp. 12-13, 31.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 44.

27. Typewritten report, "Publicity Work in Western States," April, 1918, Council of National Defense Papers, CND14-D1A.

28. *Final Report New Mexico Council of Defense*, 27.

29. Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to Franklin W. Fort, Washington, D. C., March 1, 1918. FA6HA2-3193.

30. Questionnaire report, March 23, 1918.

been heard from the bureau's chairman or executive secretary, and that many of his own letters to them had been unanswered.³¹ When a proposal was made to consolidate the speaker's bureau with another Council of Defense group, the Four Minute Men, Ely violently objected, and began to make plans for a separate food administration bureau.³² Conversely, Charles Springer of the Council of Defense recommended the licensing of all speakers to prevent certain volunteer and free-lance food administration orators from addressing audiences.³³

Another unsuccessful attempt to act in harmony was made in connection with home economics personnel. Mrs. Ruth C. Miller was at one and the same time home economics director of the state food administration, state industrial education supervisor for the State College, economics director of the woman's auxiliary of the state Council of Defense, and head of the home economics division of the state department of education.³⁴ Although Ely staunchly attested to her efficiency, he complained that she was unable to carry on a consistent program for the food administration. In addition, he believed that she was "presenting calories and proteins and high-brow stuff," whereas the food administration should concentrate on practical demonstrations that would teach "urgent conservation lessons of the war and no more." In June, 1918, Ely proposed to the food administration in Washington that it should appoint a state leader of home demonstration in New Mexico who would instruct volunteer workers in courses to be given at the state normal college.³⁵ Possibly basic in this scheme was Ely's desire to separate the food administration's home economics work

31. Western states publicity work report, April, 1918.

32. *Final Report New Mexico Council of Defense*, 19-20; Charles Springer, Santa Fé, to Arthur H. Fleming, Washington, D. C., August 29, 1918, Council of National Defense Papers, CND14-A2 (70).

33. *Id.* to *id.*, July 17, 1918, *ibid.*

34. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, October 23, 1917.

35. Ralph C. Ely, Albuquerque, to John W. Hollowell, Washington, D. C., June 10, 1918 (telegram); *id.* to Frederick M. Stone, Washington, D. C., June 25, 1918, *ibid.*

from the extension division. At least he had a strong dislike for A. C. Cooley.³⁶ And by way of reciprocating Ely's hostile attitude, Cooley criticized the "Hoover Teams'" home demonstrations, saying they were practically a duplication of the work done by the county home demonstration agents. One group, he grumbled, would no sooner finish its work in a community until another would come in and attempt to duplicate what had just been done.³⁷ Finally, the state food administration partially severed its relationship with the extension division when it appointed Miss Frances Lathrop of the University of New Mexico to succeed Mrs. Miller.³⁸

Food conservation reached its climax in the propaganda for meatless and wheatless days. By the terms of the Lever or Food Control act of August 10, 1917 the American people were prepared for reduced consumption of fuel, meat, sugar, and wheat. In September, 1917, Food Administrator Hoover in a telegram to Ely disclosed that one wheatless and one meatless day each week in every American home would save between 80 and 90,000,000 bushels of wheat and 2,200,000,000 pounds of meat each year. Ely was greatly impressed by the figures, and made a brief talk on the subject at a Santa Fé theater,³⁹ but it was not until January, 1918, that the campaign began in earnest. It was then decreed that there should be no meat on Tuesday and no wheat on Wednesday in all public eating places, while it was most strongly urged that citizens should make identical sacrifices in their own homes.⁴⁰ In a short while the "foodless" calendar became more elaborate, and indeed the housewife had need to watch it very closely if she were to observe the régime. It read:⁴¹

36. *Id.* to *id.*, June 13, 17, 1918, *ibid.*

37. A. C. Cooley, State College, to C. B. Smith, Washington, D. C., April 20, 1918, FA6HA2-3193.

38. Ralph C. Ely, Albuquerque, to Frederick M. Stone, Washington, D. C., July 2, 1918, FA6HA3-3343.

39. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, September 25, 1917.

40. Albuquerque *Evening Herald*, January 7, 1918.

41. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, February 9, 1918.

Monday—wheatless day, one meatless meal
 Tuesday—meatless, porkless day, one wheatless meal
 Wednesday—wheatless day, one meatless meal
 Thursday—one wheatless, one meatless meal
 Friday—one wheatless, one meatless meal
 Saturday—porkless day, one wheatless meal

Coincident with the meatless-wheatless demands there was intensified publicity to encourage the use of more substitute foods. One newspaper advertisement suggested, "In place of one slice of bread, eat one more potato a day." Again, an editorial ridiculed those who complained against wartime food sacrifices by asking: "What had the terrors of the French Revolution to compare with the awful fate of facing a stack of lucious steaming buckwheats at breakfast? . . ." ⁴² While goat raising and the wild rabbit industry occasionally received more than facetious consideration as alternatives in the meat crisis, ⁴³ kaffir corn and feterita were publicized as substitutes for wheat. ⁴⁴ And at the height of the propaganda effort the woman's auxiliary of the Council of Defense brought in R. L. Daly of New York to talk to Albuquerque women on the subject of corn products, corn molasses, corn syrups, and corn sugar. ⁴⁵ A warning went out that sugar-hoarding was creating a dangerous shortage, and that soft-drinks would of necessity be affected by the wartime conditions. Confectioners were advised to shift to fruit juices and other conservation beverages. ⁴⁶ Pleas by the food administration also sought to reclaim waste fats. For instance, J. O. Pritchard, manager of the Harvey house of Clovis, garnered praise because he put every scrap of meat and fat into a vat where it was rendered for soap-making. ⁴⁷ In Albuquerque research began to find better ways of using waste products. ⁴⁸ Ely recommended too that the towns and

42. *Ibid.*, January 22, 28, 1918.

43. *Ibid.*, January 10, February 11, 1918.

44. *Ibid.*, October 30, 1917.

45. Albuquerque *Morning Journal*, January 31, 1918.

46. Albuquerque *Evening Herald*, January 26, March 6, 1918.

47. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, January 17, 1918.

48. Questionnaire report, June 20, 1918.

cities of New Mexico should amend their ordinances if necessary to permit families who desired to do so to keep pigs for the disposal of table refuse.⁴⁹

Some of the conservation appeals brought forth encouraging responses, but, as a policy of food control, days and meals of patriotic abstinence were more or less unfortunate. Especially was this true with respect to meatless days when it became known that the prevailing drought was sending more cattle than normally to slaughtering pens or to "feeding" pastures in the eastern states.⁵⁰ Disconcerting too was the statement of Joseph P. Cotton, head of the federal food administration's meat division, that more meat was being consumed on meatless days than usual.⁵¹ Early in March, Herbert Hoover, making a concession to the strong resentment that was evident in many quarters, ordered the relaxation of some of the meatless day rulings; it was provided that although Tuesday should remain a meatless day for beef, pork, and their by-products, and porkless Saturdays should continue, lamb and mutton might be eaten on all days. In addition to the drought, two other causes were given for the action; first, an immense amount of "soft corn" raised in the middle west the previous year had to be fed to cattle if it were not to be lost, and consequently the slaughtered cattle weighed more; and second, domestic and oceanic shipping problems (including the submarine) caused meat to "dam up" until there was a temporary surplus.⁵² Although the slackening in the "meatless" propaganda was looked upon by sheep-raisers with favor, they were not willing to remain passive. At its annual convention, held at Albuquerque, March 18-19, 1918, the New Mexico Wool Growers' Association passed a resolution requesting that the food administration should not impose any further

49. Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to "Mayors and Town Boards of New Mexico," January 5, 1918, in *Santa Fé New Mexican*, January 5, 1918.

50. Questionnaire report, August 1, 1918.

51. *Santa Fé New Mexican*, March 20, 1918.

52. *Ibid.*, March 17, 1918; *Albuquerque Evening Herald*, March 5, 1918.

limitations upon the use of mutton or lamb.⁵³ It would be gratuitous to say this demand was effective, but on March 29 the food administration in Washington assured Ely, "There is no present indication of restoring restrictions on the consumption of mutton . . ." ⁵⁴ Nor were they restored for the remainder of the war. Cattle raisers too, were vocal in their objections. At a cattlemen's meeting in Las Vegas strong words were used against the food administration's meatless days. Ely sputtered to no avail about the "insidious" nature of such abuse,⁵⁵ and on April 4 the stockmen had reason to feel gratified by the suspension of all "meatless" restrictions for an announced period of at least thirty days.⁵⁶

At the end of the first week of May, Herbert Hoover again asked that consumers should eat "more milk products and fish and thus escape the reestablishment of meatless days." Apparently, however, the warning was simply a preparation for further action, and on May 26 an appeal from the federal food administrator was read in all the churches. It pleaded with the people to cut their individual weekly allotments of meat to two pounds. Public eating houses were asked to serve meat at only one meal each day.⁶⁷ There was no revival of the discarded "meatless days," but in their place "beefless days" were invoked. Every person was expected to limit himself or herself to four meals of beef a week: Monday—roast, Tuesday and Thursday—boiled, Saturday—beefsteak. Pork, bacon, ham, and sausage were urged as substitutes at other meals.⁵⁸ Ely, acting in

53. "Resolution Asking Suspension of Restriction Against Consumption of Mutton" [March 18 or 19, 1918], FA6HA2-8194; Ralph C. Ely, Albuquerque, to United States Food Administration, Washington, D. C., March 23, 1918, *ibid.*; Federal Food Administrator, Albuquerque, to Walter Connell, Albuquerque, March 23, 1918 (copy), *ibid.*; Walter Connell, Albuquerque, to Ralph C. Ely, Albuquerque, March 21, 1918 (copy), *ibid.*

54. United States Food Administration, Washington, D. C., to Ralph C. Ely, Albuquerque, March 29, 1918 (copy), *ibid.*

55. Ralph C. Ely, Albuquerque, to United States Food Administration, Washington, D. C., March 15, 1918 (telegram), *ibid.*

56. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, April 4, 1918.

57. *Ibid.*, May 6, 27, 1918.

58. *Ibid.*, June 18, 1918.

the interests of merchants who already had stocks of beef on hand, decided to delay the inauguration of the new campaign until June 27.⁵⁹ There was no outcry against the program; butchers and restaurant owners accepted it without complaint. But it was not destined to be successful. On August 1, Ely admitted: "Practically speaking . . . there is little conservation of beef. Prices are excessively high. Our policies have been frequently changed and it is more difficult to get other meats than beef. The influences of high prices are much greater than the influence of the Food Administration . . . The largest market in Albuquerque has had no pork for several days and meat eaters are forced to use beef."⁶⁰ By July, drought had removed, except in a few districts, all locally raised cattle from the markets; the beef supply was shipped in from Denver, Kansas City, and other packing centers. The packers prescribed both the quantity and price of the meat. Under such conditions propaganda for voluntary conservation was worthless; the consumer was practically helpless, and the state food administration refused to pretend otherwise.⁶¹ It was, therefore, a great relief to all New Mexicans when, after a number of weeks, cattle runs were reported to be fifty percent higher than the preceding year, young beeves began to be put on the market, and demands for consumer restrictions upon meat consumption were cancelled on August 17.⁶²

Wheatless days also were something of a disappointment. In April they were replaced by a voluntary conservation plan that limited each person to one and one-half pounds of flour per week.⁶³ By August, the state food administration rejoiced that in this way thirty-five million pounds of wheat had been saved, and that individual consumption had been cut by twenty pounds during the same

59. Questionnaire report, June 20, 1918.

60. *Ibid.*, August 1, 1918.

61. Ralph C. Ely, Albuquerque, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., June 29, 1918, FA6HA3-3345.

62. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, August 17, 23, 1918.

63. *Ibid.*, April 13, 25, 1918.

period.⁶⁴ It must be noted, however, that for at least a part of that time there were efforts being made to enforce rather stringent regulations of wheat consumption, milling, and flour sales; such compulsory regulations would hardly fall within the category of voluntary action.

64. *Ibid.*, August 16, 1918.

(To be concluded)

PUNCHE: TOBACCO IN NEW MEXICO HISTORY*

By LESLIE A. WHITE

THE distinguished anthropologist and documentary historian, Adolph F. Bandelier, declared in his *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States*¹ that "tobacco was not known to the Pueblos until Spanish rule became established." Some species of *Nicotiana*, *attenuata* and *trigonophylla* particularly, are indigenous in the Pueblo country. We know from archaeological evidence² that pipes were used for smoking by the Pueblo Indians before 1540. But we do not know what was smoked in these pipes. We know from ethnographic sources that the Pueblo Indians have, in recent decades, smoked a number of wild plants, including tobacco, and it is reasonable to suppose that their ancestors in pre-Spanish times might have done likewise. Thus our evidence indicates that the Pueblo Indians smoked pipes in prehistoric times, and they *may* have smoked wild tobacco in them along with various other wild plants.³ But no evidence whatever points to a prehistoric cultivation of tobacco. It is significant that the chronicles of the Coronado expedition make no mention either of tobacco or of smoking among the Pueblos. But let us turn now to the "other end" of the history of tobacco in the Southwest, i.e., to recent times.

In 1934, I collected a specimen of tobacco under cultivation at Ranchitos, the farming settlement of the Santa Ana

*I am greatly obliged to Professor Arthur S. Aiton and Professor Irving A. Leonard, both of the University of Michigan, for reading this paper in manuscript and for helpful suggestions.

1. Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, p. 37 (Amer. Series III, 1890).

2. Mr. Volney H. Jones, of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, summarizes the evidence of smoking in prehistoric times in the Southwest in "Was Tobacco Smoked in the Pueblo Region in Pre-Spanish Times?" which will appear shortly in *American Antiquity*.

3. Cf. Professor Edward F. Castetter's "Early Tobacco Utilization and Cultivation in the American Southwest," in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 45, pp. 320-325, April-June, 1943.

Pueblo Indians, a few miles north of Bernalillo, New Mexico.⁴ This, as far as I know, is the first scientific specimen of cultivated tobacco from a New Mexico Indian pueblo. It was identified by a competent botanist and deposited in the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan (Cat. No. 14698).

But, when this specimen was identified, it turned out to be a species of *Nicotiana* that had not previously been reported for this region. It was *N. rustica*. According to Wm. A. Setchell,⁵ the aboriginal distribution of *N. rustica* was confined to the eastern United States, its western boundary being only a short distance west of the Mississippi River. After publishing a brief report of this specimen,⁶ I learned that between 1925 and 1931, at least two experiments in the cultivation of *N. rustica* had been conducted near Albuquerque.⁷ Seeds were given freely to Indian and Mexican farmers, so that this species could have been introduced among the Pueblos in this way.

But tobacco was cultivated in the Pueblo region in New Mexico long before 1925. How long before? When was the cultivation of tobacco begun? And what species was, or were, cultivated prior to the twentieth century? In short, what is the history of tobacco culture in New Mexico?

The journals of the Coronado expedition do not, as previously noted, speak of smoking or of tobacco among the Pueblos. This is rather curious. If smoking was practiced by the Pueblo Indians at this time, as archeological evidence suggests, one wonders why the Spanish chroniclers did not mention it since they recorded such a wealth of observations of customs already familiar to them from tribes in Old

4. Cf. White, Leslie A., *The Pueblo of Santa Ana, New Mexico*, p. 40ff., Figs. 1, 3 (Memoir 60, Amer. Anthropol. Assn., 1942).

5. "Aboriginal Tobaccos," (Amer. Anthropologist, Vol. 23, pp. 397-414; 1921). See, also, Wootton, E. O. and Standley, P. C., *Flora of New Mexico* (Contributions from the U. S. National Herbarium, 1915).

6. "*Nicotiana Rustica* Cultivated by Pueblo Indians," (Science, Vol. 94, pp. 64-65, July 18, 1941).

7. E. G. Beinhart, "*Nicotiana Rustica* in New Mexico," (Science, Vol. 94, pp. 538-39, Dec. 5, 1941).

Mexico as well as new customs. The absence of a reference to smoking in these journals does not, of course, prove that the Pueblo Indians did not smoke in 1540.

But what of the men in Coronado's party: Had they acquired the habit of smoking before they came to New Mexico? One might infer from their journals that they had not, for, had they been addicted to tobacco, we would almost certainly find mention of it in the *Relaciones*. Thus the evidence would seem to indicate that the first party of white men to enter the Pueblo country did not introduce tobacco.

Before the first quarter of the seventeenth century had expired, however, the Spanish colonists in New Mexico were cultivating tobacco, according to the *Relación* of Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón:⁸

At all this the Spaniards who are there [i.e., in New Mexico] laugh; as they have a good crop of tobacco to smoke, they are very content, and wish no more riches.

Another early reference to the use of tobacco in the Southwest is found in the *Memorial* of Fray Alonso de Benavides,⁹ (1630):

They [Spaniards] gave him [an Indian] the embassy of peace according to their usage. This was an arrow with a feather of colors in place of the flint and a reed full of tobacco (*un cañuto lleno de tabaco*) [already]¹⁰ begun to be smoked.

Cane, or reed, cigarettes, so-called, are known to us from recent ethnographic accounts and also from excavations of prehistoric sites.¹¹ But they were not really cigarettes, nor were they "smoked," as a rule. In the first place, they were stuffed with such materials as feathers, wild plants of

8. In *The Land of Sunshine*, Vol. 12, p. 44, Dec., 1899; Los Angeles.

9. Pp. 46, 48; Spanish text, p. 140 (translated by Mrs. Edw. E. Ayer, Chicago, 1916).

10. Of the bracketed words in this quotation, "already" appears in the published translation; the others have been inserted by me.

11. Jones, *op. cit.*

different kinds, unspun cotton, etc., which is hardly a mixture suitable for smoking. And in the second place, the nodes of the cane were not pierced so one could draw smoke through them. Their use was a ritual one. One end of the "cigarette" would be burned a bit in a flame, and then it would be deposited somewhere as an offering to the spirits. This, no doubt, explains the phrase "had already begun to be smoked" in the passage of Benavides. But we have no assurance that the reed mentioned in that passage contained tobacco unless the Spaniards themselves provided it.

Our next reference to tobacco is dated 1767. In that year the governor of New Mexico

objected to the viceroy's proposition to enforce the tobacco *estanco*, as very little real tobacco was used in New Mexico, only *punche*, and by the Indians a leaf called *mata*; yet in '76 the *estanco* was ordered to be enforced and the planting of *punche* prohibited, (from a Ms. of the Pinart Col.)¹²

The significant thing here is the distinction between "real tobacco" and "*punche*." *Mata*—Sp. plant, sprig—appears to be a generic name for wild plants smoked by the Indians. *Punche*, we are told, was "an inferior species of tobacco."¹³

In 1803,

Tobacco [was] raised for home consumption [in New Mexico] even by the padres and but for the *estanco* on cigars, snuff, etc., the product might be vastly increased. (Fernando Chacón, *Informe del gobernador sobre Industrias del N. Mex.*, Arch. Sta. Fe.).¹⁴

12. Bancroft, H. H., *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 276, ftn. 41 (1889).

13. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

14. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 302, ftn. 38. In a letter to the present writer, Professor Bloom identifies this document as No. 1670a, in Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, Vol. II, p. 440. The only portion of this document dealing with tobacco reads as follows:

"El Tauaco se cultiva por todo el Vecindario en general con Superior contentimiento, y sin embargo de no Veneficiarse bien, lo fuman y toman en Polvo la mayor parte de los Religiosos."

According to Professor Bloom, there is no mention in this document of an *estanco*

Early in the nineteenth century, Pino protests against the government tobacco monopoly in New Mexico, but "this last [i.e., the monopoly] did not prevent the people of New Mexico from raising a poor grade of tobacco known as *punche*."¹⁵ In the absence of money, rolls of *punche* were used occasionally, along with other commodities, as a medium of exchange in commercial transactions.¹⁶ Captain John G. Bourke, who visited the Taos Indians in 1881, says:¹⁷

They smoked bunchi—called To-je, a plant gathered on top of the mountains. They are likewise very fond of tobacco.

Thus we find *punche* defined as "an inferior species of tobacco," distinguished from "real" tobacco, and also as a wild plant gathered in the mountains and used by the Indians for smoking. From the facts (1) that the government had a monopoly on the sale of tobacco, (2) that the planting of *punche* was prohibited, and (3) that *punche* was grown despite this governmental prohibition, we might conclude (a) that the "real tobacco" was imported to New Mexico for sale but was not grown there, and (b) that *punche* was a tobacco grown locally by the colonists.

Today, tobacco is grown in a number of Indian pueblos and Mexican villages in the Rio Grande valley north of Albuquerque, where it is called, by the Indians and Mexicans

on tobacco, or of *puros*. Nor is there any reference to the cultivation of tobacco by the padres.

Professor Bloom has also called my attention to two further references to tobacco in Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives*: (1) No. 884, a letter from De Neve to Governor Anza, March 13, 1784, "ordering the extirpation of the herb known as *Oja de Mata* which was being used as a substitute for tobacco and in this manner reducing the revenues," (Vol. II, p. 294); and (2) No. 893, De Neve to the governor of New Mexico, April 27, 1784, "countermanding the order for the destruction of the native tobacco," (Vol. II, p. 295). Professor Bloom observes that "both these documents seem to have come up from Chihuahua by the same courier!"

15. Bloom, L. B., "New Mexico under Mexican Administration, 1821-46," p. 40, (*Old Santa Fé*, Vol. I; 1913).

16. Warner, Louis H., "Conveyance of Property, the Spanish and Mexican Way," p. 350 (*NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, Vol. VI; 1931). Warner states that "*punche* was the native tobacco."

17. Bloom, L. B., "Bourke on the Southwest," p. 49 (*NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, Vol. XII; 1937).

alike, *punche*. In 1941 I obtained specimens from a number of these communities; they were identified as *N. rustica*.¹⁸

What is the history of *punche*? Was the plant called *punche* introduced by the Spaniards? Or was it some indigenous species of *Nicotiana* brought under cultivation by the early Spanish colonists to escape the government *estanco* on "real tobacco?" When did the Pueblo Indians begin the cultivation of *punche*?

It is highly improbable that we shall ever obtain specimens of *punche*, grown a century or more ago, for botanical identification. Consequently, we must rely chiefly upon other sources of information. One of the most promising clues at present is linguistic. What is the origin and history of the word *punche*?

José Agustín de Escudero, writing in 1849, speaks of "a kind of tobacco which the Indians call *punche*,"¹⁹ indicating that he thought the word to be Indian. Dr. J. P. Harrington, linguist and anthropologist of the Bureau of American Ethnology, says that *punche* is "New Mexican Spanish."²⁰ I have not found *punche* in the *Catálogo Alfabético de Nombres Vulgares y Científicos de Plantas que existen en México*, published by the *Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento*, A. L. Herrera, Director; Maximino Martínez author of the Introduction (and perhaps the monograph also), in Mexico City in 1923.

It seems quite clear that *punche* is not an Indian word. Among the languages of the Pueblos, *hami* is the Keresan word for tobacco, *ana* the Zuni, *sa* the Tewa, *lane* or *le* the Tigua, and *piva* the Hopi. In Navajo and Apache, tobacco

18. White, Leslie A., "Further Data on the Cultivation of Tobacco among the Pueblo Indians," (Science, Vol. 96, pp. 59-60, July 17, 1942).

19. *Three New Mexico Chronicles*, p. 120 (H. Bailey Carroll and J. Villasana Haggard, eds., The Quivira Society Publications, Vol. XI; 1942).

20. Robbins, W. W., Harrington, J. P. and Freire-Marreco, B., *Ethnobotany of the Tewa Indians*, p. 103 (Bulletin 55, Bureau of American Ethnology; Washington 1916).

is *natoh*. In fact, no American Indian word for tobacco resembles *punche* so far as we know.²¹

Since the word *punche* appears not to be used in Old Mexico, we might assume that it is a local, New Mexico, term as Harrington states. But what is its origin?

Nowadays *punche* occurs colloquially in Mexico and Central America as the equivalent of the English *punch*, to strike, or poke. Dr. Walter W. Taylor, Jr., of the University of Texas, informs me that on the Texas-Mexico border pugilists are occasionally known as "keed [Kid] poonche." Professor Robert Redfield, of the University of Chicago, tells me that he has encountered "*punchi*" in Central America as the name of a drink made from bananas. We find "*ponche*, a drink, or liquor," in some Spanish dictionaries. But there is no reason to believe that either of these usages has any connection with *punche* as it is used in New Mexico.

We find "*punches*, m.pl., Honduras²² *rosetas de maiz*," popcorn, in Heath's *Pequeño Larousse*²² and in Augusto Malarret's *Diccionario de Americanismos*.²³ In *Novísimo Diccionario Enciclopédico de la Lengua Castellana*,²⁴ by D. Delfin Donadín y Buignan, we find *punche* defined as "m. Amer., especie de manjar blanco." Another dictionary defines *manjar blanco* as "a dish made of the breast of fowl mixed with sugar, milk, and rice flour." But none of these uses seems to have any bearing upon our problem in New Mexico.

Professor Aurelio M. Espinosa has suggested, in a personal communication, that *punche* has been derived from *pumila*:²⁵ *pumila* > *pumla*, > *pumbla* or *pumpla*; *pumpla* > *puncha* > *punche*.

21. See Roland B. Dixon's exhaustive article, "Words for Tobacco in American Indian Languages," (*American Anthropologist*, Vol. 23, pp. 19-49, Jan.-March, 1921).

22. Paris and New York, 1912.

23. Mayaguez, Puerto Rico; 1925.

24. Barcelona (n.d.).

25. In "Speech Mixture in New Mexico: the Influence of the English Language on New Mexico Spanish," p. 426 (*The Pacific Ocean in History*, H. Morse Stephens and H. E. Bolton, eds., New York, 1917), Professor Espinosa states that *ponchi*, in New Mexico Spanish, has been derived from the English "punch," as *bonchi* is derived from "bunch," and *lonchi* from "lunch." But, if I interpret Espinosa's *Estudios Sobre*

Our first question here would be, Is this derivation of *punche* merely a surmise, a reasonably valid hypothesis, or an established fact? If it could be shown that *punche* has indeed evolved from *pumila*, we would still have essentially the same problem on our hands: What is the history of *pumila* (L. "low, little") in New Mexico? When did it come to be applied to a plant used for smoking in New Mexico, and what were the circumstances of its introduction into colloquial use?

Professor T. H. Goodspeed, an authority on tobaccos, calls one of the varieties of *N. rustica* "*pumila*," which is the only other instance of the association of this term with tobacco that I know of.

To close with a summary of our problem: Were the Pueblo Indians smoking when Coronado visited them in 1540, and if so, what plant or plants were they using? What kind of tobacco was grown by the Spaniards in New Mexico prior to 1626 (Zárate Salmerón)? What kind of tobacco was called *punche* in the eighteenth century? Was it an indigenous plant or one introduced by the Spaniards? Did the Indians learn to grow *punche* from the Spanish colonists? What is the history of the word *punche* in New Mexico?

The history of tobacco cultivation in New Mexico is at present a riddle, one which the anthropologist would like very much to see solved. If documentary historians, linguists, and other scholars interested in the culture history of the Southwest could throw some light on this problem, they would render Pueblo ethnology a great service.

Department of Anthropology
University of Michigan

el Español de Nuevo México (Biblioteca de Dialectología Hispano-americana I, Instituto de Filología; Buenos Aires, 1930) correctly, he regards *punshe* as an English word from which the New Mexico term *punshi* is derived (p. 95).

HISTORICAL SOCIETY MINUTES, 1859-1863
(concluded)

Edited by LANSING B. BLOOM

Fifth Regular Meeting

Santa Fé New Mexico
May 28th, 1860

The Society was called to order by the Vice President.

The minutes of the last regular meeting were read and approved.

The application of J. Gold Esq.¹⁶³ was read and laid upon the table until the next regular meeting.

Messrs. J. G. Marsh, Wm. H. Moore, and B. L. Rees were elected members of this society.¹⁶⁴

The Curator and Librarian submitted the following report, which was ordered to be filed, viz:

Santa Fé May 28th, 1860.

The donations to the Society during the past month are as follows:

Constitution and By Laws of the Academy of Science at St. Louis, and Transactions of the Academy for 1857, 1858, and 1859, 3 vols. from the Academy.

Nautical Monographs, No. 1 from Lieut. M. F. Maury U. S. A. Nat. Obs. Washington.¹⁶⁵

Geology of North America by Jules Marcon, Zurich, Switzerland, from Capt. A. W. Whipple Top. Eng. U. S. A.¹⁶⁶

Specimens of Chrystalized Quartz, Copper Ore, Sulphur and fossils from Jemez, from Mr. Robinson.¹⁶⁷

A specimen of magnetic Iron from Lieut. O'Bannon.

A scalp of an Apache Chief from Mr. E. Brevoort, Hacienda del Reventon, N. M.¹⁶⁸

Six very fine specimens of Silver ore from the Stephenson mine,

163. John Gold, Esq., was elected at the June meeting (*infra*). For some possible family connections, see note 114 *ante*.

164. On these three men, see notes 155-157, *ante*.

165. For M. F. Maury, see note 74. "Two volumes of sailing directions" were listed at the August meeting (*infra*) as a donation from him.

166. See note 76, *ante*, on Whipple.

167. Mr. Robinson is not identified.

168. For O'Bannon and Brevoort, see notes 113, 112, *ante*.

Organo Mountains near Fort Fillmore, from Maj. J. T. Sprague, U. S. A. Fort Fillmore.¹⁶⁹

A chest Table from R. F. Green Esq.

Specimens of Metallic Iron Ore from the Warm Springs at Las Vegas, from Dr. Boyce, also a specimen of *Cyathophylum Dentatum* from the same place.¹⁷⁰

Great Seal of the Territory of New Mexico used upon the organization of the Territory in 1851 by D. V. Whiting.

A map of the Artesian Well of Belcher and Bros. at St. Louis, by Dr. Ferris.

Specimens of Petrifications and transparent stones collected near Fort Defiance from Frantz Tollenius Compy E. Mounted Rifles.

Signed A De Marle

Curator and Librarian

The Section on History was requested to prepare a document to be read at the next regular meeting on a subject appertaining to that Section.

Communications were read from Col. J. B. Grayson, Mr. E. Brevoort, Rev. E. A. Dalrymple, Profs. S. F. Baird and Jos. Henry, Smithsonian Institute, E. T. Bucknam Esq., Maryland Historical Society, J. K. Curtis,¹⁷¹ Abner Morse, Historical Society of Mississippi, J & W. R. Bernard & Co., Maj. J. T. Sprague, Lieut. A. W. Whipple and C. L. Sayles.¹⁷²

Col. Grayson presented a copy of his address on the life and character of Brig. Genl. S. W. Kearney.

The communication of A. Morse on the subject of Hearth Stones was referred to the Section on Indian Races.

The resignations of Col. B. L. E. Bonneville and Lieut. R. V. Bonneau U. S. A. were accepted.

Col. B. L. E. Bonneville was elected an Honorary member of this Society.

169. John Titcomb Sprague, native of Massachusetts, was commissioned a 2nd lieutenant of the marine corps October 17, 1834, but was in the infantry three years later. He saw service during both the Mexican and Civil wars, was brevetted major for meritorious conduct, May 30, 1848. In 1858 Major Sprague was commanding officer at Fort Marcy in Santa Fé (C. F. Coan, *Hist. of N. Mex.*, I, 360), but at this time evidently was stationed at Fort Fillmore. By the end of the Civil War he had attained the rank of colonel; he was retired in 1870 and died Sept. 6, 1878.

170. See note 54, *ante*.

171. J. K. Curtis, Esq., was a numismatist of New York City. At the July meeting (*infra*) a special resolution of thanks was voted for a generous donation of coins.

172. C. L. Sayles is not identified, but later in this same meeting he was elected a corresponding member.

Lieut. R. V. Bonneau and C. L. Sayles were elected Corresponding members.

After a recess¹⁷³ of Ten minutes the Society was called to order, when

On motion of Judge K. Benedict, The Corresponding Secretary was instructed to solicit from Col. B. L. E. Bonneville, his ambrotype to be placed in the Archives of the Society.

The Society then, on motion adjourned.

David V. Whiting
Secretary

Sixth Regular Meeting

Santa Fé New Mexico
June 25th, 1860

The Society was called to order at the hour specified by the By Laws, The President in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

Applications for membership were received from Dr. W. S. King U. S. A.¹⁷⁴ and Wm. Osterton Esq.¹⁷⁵

John Gold Esq. was elected a member of this Society. Chrisham Kribben Esq.¹⁷⁶ of St. Louis and R. G. Campbell Esq.¹⁷⁷ of Fort Clark were elected corresponding members.

The Curator and Librarian submitted the following Report which was ordered to be filed, viz:

Donations to the Historical Society during the past month, viz:

2 Beautiful Pictures, one representing a part of the ruins of Gran Quivira, the other, a landscape on the Rio Grande, from Lieut. R. V. Bonneau.

A copper penny dated 1838 with a fine portrait of Queen Victoria of Great Britain from Master Harry Whiting.¹⁷⁸

173. The procedure followed indicates that Bonneville was present in person.

174. William Shakespeare King, native of Pennsylvania, became an assistant surgeon in July 1837 and at this time was major surgeon. He served through the Civil War in which he was twice brevetted; was retired in 1882 and died Aug. 2, 1895.

175. William H. Osterton became a Mason at Santa Fé between 1857 and 1864. He was territorial treasurer for part of 1863. In December 1861, and again a year later, he was elected recording secretary of the Society.

176. Chrisham Kribben of St. Louis is not identified.

177. R. G. Campbell and his residence "Fort Clark" are not identified. A few lines below, we note his donation of a souvenir from Hadrian's villa outside Rome, on the way up to Tivoli. The editor was there five years ago and can vouch that tourists are still carrying away pieces of marble.

178. Master Harry was evidently a son of the recording secretary, D. V. Whiting. He made another donation in August,—when young Gorman went him one better by presenting a Chinese hat. He should not be confused with Maj. Harry Rees Whiting, who located in Albuquerque in 1868.

A piece of marble from the Villa of the Emperor Adrian, at Rome, from R. G. Campbell Esq.

9 Volumes 8^{mo} Documents of the U. S. Senate 2d Session 35th Congress, also 9 vols 8^{mo} Ex Documents from Hon. M. A. Otero.

5 Vols 4^{mo} Ex Docs. and 2 Vols. 4^{mo} Senate Documents from Hon. M. A. Otero.

Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society from W. A. Whitehead Esq. Corr. Secy.

Marcy's Santa Fé, and Simpson's Navajoe Expedition from Capt. J. N. Macomb, U. S. A.

Coast Survey for 1858 from Dr. W. J. Sloan U. S. A.

Three handsome engravings from Capt. R. A. Wainwright U. S. A.

Various specimens of gold from the newly discovered gold deposits near the Copper mines presented by Saturnino Barrientos Esq.¹⁷⁹
June 25th 1860

A. De Marle
Librarian

Communications were read from Col. B. L. E. Bonneville, F. W. Jones, Dr. J. W. Nangle, Hon. W. W. H. Davis, Coast Survey Office, Dr. J. W. King, New Jersey Historical Society, E. Brevoort, R. G. Campbell, Dr. B. J. D. Irwin, Gov. Rencher, Capt. J. N. Macomb, and Mess. Knapp & Co.

Major J. L. Donaldson from the Section on History read a paper on the origin, and cause of the Florida War.

A translation of the address of the Mexican People to the President of the Republic asking for the expulsion from the country of all Spaniards within its borders was also read when

On motion the Society adjourned.

David V. Whiting
Rec. Sec.

Seventh Regular Meeting

Santa Fé New Mexico
July 30th, 1860

The Society was called to order at the hour appointed. The President in the Chair.

The minutes of the last regular meeting were read and approved.

179. Saturnino Barrientos is not identified. At Doña Ana in May 1861, Rafael Armijo brought an "action of debt" against Barrientos in the district court. He not appearing, judgment was given for \$182 with interest and court costs. The sheriff's return on Nov. 17, 1861, reported that the defendant was not a resident of the county. (N. M. HIST. REV., VI, 265)

Applications for membership were received from Rev. A. Geraschowski,¹⁸⁰ L. W. Ashley,¹⁸¹ Capt. D. H. Maury,¹⁸² C. E. Whilden,¹⁸³ Solomon Beuthner and Samson Beuthner.¹⁸⁴

Dr. W. S. King, U. S. A. and Mr. W. Osterton, were elected members of this Society.

The Curator and Librarian submitted the following Report which was ordered to be filed, viz:

The donations to the Society are as follows, viz:

An Arapahoe Indian Fife, bought from one of the Chiefs at Denver City K. T.¹⁸⁵ and presented through Judge Houghton, by C. Weinheim, Esq.¹⁸⁶

Instrucciones para coleccionar y preparar objetos de Historia Natural Formadas por orden del gobierno supremo Méjico 1830.

Testimonio de la actuado en razon de haber salido el Teniente Don Manuel Sanz de Garbizú¹⁸⁷ con soldados vecinos é indios en seguimiento de los Indios gentiles Cumanches porque invadieron el pueblo de Pecos ejecutando en él algunas muertes de Indios Cristianos como dentro se verá. 1746. Both presented by D. V. Whiting.

Visita general de todos los pueblos de Indios y villas de

180. The Rev. Alex Geraschowski was probably one of four young men, recently come to Santa Fé, who were studying for the priesthood, three of whom did not complete their training. (Salpointe, *op. cit.*, 211; 282, no. 34.) In the 1860's "Gerselachovsky" was a general merchant in Las Vegas (*History of New Mexico* (Pacific States Publ. Co., 1907), II, 584); in 1882 "Grzlachowski" was in similar business at Puerto de Luna, and was also postmaster and justice of the peace in that precinct. (*A Complete Business Directory of New México and Gazetteer of the Territory for 1882*, 118)

186. C. Weinheim, Esq., is not identified.

182. Dabney Herndon Maury was a native of Virginia and graduated at West Point in 1842. In the Mexican War he served as a lieutenant with the 3rd Artillery and the Mounted Rifles; from 1858 to 1860 he was regimental adjutant and at this time was brevet captain and ass't adjutant general. He was dismissed from service June 25, 1861, having joined the Confederacy. He was advanced in that service to major general; and died January 11, 1900. He was a nephew of M. F. Maury. (see note 74 ante)

183. Charles E. Whilden was a Mason at Santa Fé before 1864, but otherwise is not known. For some reason, at the August meeting he was allowed to withdraw this application for membership without a vote.

184. See note 62, ante.

185. "Kansas Territory." Colorado was not made a territory until 1861.

186. C. Weinheim, Esq., is not identified.

187. Lieut. Manuel Sanz de Garvisú who led this punitive expedition against the Comanches in 1746 doubtless belonged to the presidial company in Santa Fé. In July 1748 he was being sent as a prisoner to the viceroy in Mexico City, for reason unknown. Evidently he was cleared of any charges, for he was back in Santa Fé in November 1749. (Twitchell, *Span. Archs.*, II, 226, 228, nos. 490, 491, 508)

Españoles de este reyno de la Nueva Mejico. Hecha por el General Juan Paez Hurtado, Alcalde Ordinario de primer voz de la Villa de Santa Fé, á quien la cometi6 el General Don Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollon, Gobernador y Captain General de dicho reyno. A. D. 1715.¹⁸⁸ by D. V. Whiting.

Ein vollwicht Ducaten gewicht 1768. from G. H. Estes, Esq.¹⁸⁹

A United States Dollar 1860 from Col. J. B. Grayson.

An incrustation of sulphurate of lime from Col. J. B. Grayson.

Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History for 1859 and to March 20, 1860. From the Society.

Authographs of the Japanese Embassy from O. P. Hovey Esq.

Twelve chairs from the firm of Johnson and Wethered¹⁹⁰ of Santa Fé.

One petrification from Mr. Jean Bouquet.

From J. K. Curtis Esq. Numismatist at New York the following coins etc.:

1 Dix centimes, 1855 Emp. L. Napoleon France.

1 Copper Coin Louis XVI France, 1789.

1 Copper Quarter Anna East India Co. 1835.

1 Copper Quarter Anna East India Co. 1833.

1 Half Penny, Province of Lower Canada 1832.

1 Copper Medallion 1837.

2 Lancaster Half Pennies "John of Gaunt" "Liege of Lancaster" 1707.

1 Copper Half Penny, Wellington Token 1814.

1 Copper Medal, "Executive Experiment" 1837.

1 Copper Mint Drop, Bentonian Currency, 1837.

1 Cinq Centimes France, Emp. L. Napoleon 1855.

1 Copper Coin, Isabella Queen of Spain 1842.

1 Copper Coin, George 2d 1745.

188. This was most certainly the most important of these three documents. Whiting was employed as translator from 1854 to 1860 in the office of the U. S. surveyor general, to which had been allocated all those archives which might help in establishing land titles. If this document had no such value, it should of course have been returned,—not carried off by an employee.

189. George H. Estes was one of eleven to whom Gov. Manuel Armijo made a grant of land (Mar. 29, 1843) on the Mora river, later known as the Scolly Grant. (R. P. Bieber, ed., *Webb, Adventures in the Santa Fé Trade, 1844-47*, 74, note) Estes became a Mason at Santa Fé between 1857 and 1864.

190. This is believed to be Samuel Wethered, a resident of Baltimore, Md., who "was engaged in the Santa Fé trade at least as early as 1839." (Bieber, *op. cit.*, 45, note) His partner Johnson is not identified.

- 2 Copper pennies Province of Lower Canada, 1837.
- 1 Copper Half Penny Province of Lower Canada, 1842.
- 1 Copper Penny Province of Nova Scotia, 1832.
- 1 Copper Penny Victoria, English, 1854.
- 1 Bank Token, Lower Canada, 1852.
- 2 Copper Cents, Canada, 1859.
- 4 Copper Kreutzers 1816.
- 1 Copper Bank Token Upper Canada 1852.
- 1 Copper Half Penny, Bank of Montreal 1844.
- 1 Copper Centime Rep. Francaise
- 2 Copper Pennies George 2d English
- 2 Cinq Centimes Repub. Francaise
- 1 Copper Half Penny New Brunswick 1854.
- 1 Cinq Centimes, Charles X, French, 1823.
- 1 Penny George IV 1825.
- 1 Wellington Waterloo Medal 1815.
- 2 Chinese Brass Coins
- 2 Centimes French, 1821
- 1 Copper Coin, Austrian, 1813.
- 1 Copper Coin, 1828, Brazil
- ½ Centime, French
- 1 Centime, French
- 1 Copper Coin, Louis XVI.
- 1 Copper Coin, German
- 1 Half Dollar, paper money, issued by Assembly of Maryland 1774
- Six Dollars Continental Money 1776
- Thirty Dollars Continental Money 1776
- Twenty Shillings Penna. Currency under Geo. 3d 1773.

1 First Reader in Spanish, Printed by O. P. Hovey in Santa Fé, 1848. Presented by J. M. Kingsbury.¹⁹¹

An Original ordre of Joseph Peloux Ecuyer conseiller du roi, commissaire ordonnateur des querres a l armee du Rhin sous Monseigneur le Prince de Contes. Issued on the 1st day of May, A. D. 1745, from C. P. Clever.

A specimen of Copper ore from Ocaté, by the Rev. A. Geralaschowski. Santa Fé, July 30, 1860.

A. De Marle
Curator and Librarian

191. John M. Kingsbury was a native of Boston and "had been the faithful clerk and bookkeeper of the firm of Messervy and Webb." He became Webb's partner in February 1854 and so continued to May 1861. (Bieber, *op. cit.*, 34-35) See note 118, *ante*.

The following Resolution was unanimously adopted, viz:

Resolved: That the thanks of the Society be tendered to the firm of Johnson and Wethered, for the liberal donation of twelve chairs, and to Mr. J. K. Curtis, New York, for his large contribution of coins, etc.

It was on motion unanimously

Resolved: That the circular of Mr. Lewis H. Morgan¹⁹² of Rochester, N. Y. in reference to the degrees of relationship among different nations be referred to the Section on Indian Races, for general investigation with regard to all the tribes of Indians in the Territory of New Mexico; that one copy be referred to Dr. M. Steck for an examination, particularly with reference to the Apache Indians, and a third copy to Dr. J. H. Bill, U. S. A.,¹⁹³ at Fort Defiance in reference to the Navajoes.

Communications were read from S. A. Lathrop of the Sonora Exploring and Mining Co., W. Barry Rec. Sec. His. Soc. of Illinois, Pf. G. C. Swallow, Hon. J. Thompson Secy. of the Interior and L. H. Morgan Esq.

A Portion of the Journal of Dr. Ten Broeck¹⁹⁴ to the Moqui and Navajoe country was read.

The President was instructed to call a special meeting of the Society and cause the public to be invited to attend whenever he should be notified by the Rev. S. Gorman of his readiness to deliver an address on the origin of the Pueblo Indians.

On motion adjourned.

David V. Whiting
Rec. Secy.

Special Meeting

Santa Fé New Mexico
August 20th, 1860

In pursuance of an order made at the last regular session of the Society, a special meeting was held this evening.

192. Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881), well known ethnologist, was born near Aurora, N. Y., but established his own home in Rochester. With a view to enlarging his field of observation, "he prepared a series of questions which, as *Circular in reference to the degrees of relationship among different nations*, was widely distributed by the Smithsonian Institution in 1860." (biog. sketch by F. W. Hodge in *Dict. of Am. Biography*) The next paragraph suggests that the Society was in direct correspondence with Morgan.

193. Joseph Howland Bill, native of Pennsylvania, was appointed an assistant surgeon on April 13, 1860—which would imply that only recently had he been stationed at Fort Defiance. He was brevetted major and lieutenant-colonel during the Civil War, and died July 21, 1885. For Steck, see note 43, *ante*.

194. On Ten Broeck, see note 161, *ante*.

The Society having been called to order by the President,

The Rev. Mr. Gorman proceeded to deliver an address on the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, after which,

The Society on motion adjourned.

David V. Whiting
Rec. Secy.

Santa Fé New Mexico
August 21st, 1860

Application having been made by a constitutional number of members for a special meeting to afford the Society an opportunity of expressing its sentiments in regard to certain remarks contained in the address delivered before the Society on the evening previous,

The Society was called to order by the President.

The address was ordered to be referred to a committee consisting of Messrs. Whiting, Wagner, Clever, De Marle and Abreu, with instructions to report thereupon at the next regular meeting.

On motion the Society adjourned.

David V. Whiting
Rec. Secy.

Eighth Regular Meeting

Santa Fé New Mexico
August 27th, 1860

The Society was called to order at the hour appointed. The President in the Chair.

The minutes of the last stated and two intervening meetings were read and approved.

C. E. Weshe Esq.¹⁹⁵ of Santa Fé made application for membership.

Rev. A. Geralaschowski, L. W. Ashley Esq., Capt. D. H. Maury and Mess. Solomon Beuthner and Samson Beuthner were elected members of the Society.

The application of C. E. Whilden Esq. for membership was withdrawn by the consent of the Society.

195. Charles Emil Wesche seems to have come to Santa Fé about 1857 and engaged in general merchandise; and shortly thereafter became a member of the Masonic lodge. Perhaps the Texan invasion of 1862 drove him to Las Vegas—at least, he was there engaged in the same line of business from the late 1860's and on into the 1880's.

He was unanimously elected to membership at the next meeting of the Society; at the December meeting he served as interpreter, and also was one of the three named as "committee of arrangements" for the ensuing year, besides being elected to the office of librarian and curator. He continued to be one of the most active members up to the final adjournment in 1863.

Col. J. D. Graham U. S. A.¹⁹⁶ was elected an Honorary member of this Society.

E. F. Beale Esq.¹⁹⁷ and Lieut. W. H. Bell U. S. A.¹⁹⁸ were elected Corresponding members.

The Curator and Librarian submitted the following report which was ordered to be filed, viz:

Donations

One specimen of Copper Ore from Abiquiu from Mr. C. E. Whilden.

Two arrows taken from the body of a man shot by the Navajoe Indians, on the mesa, 11 miles from Santa Fé, in July 1860, by Genl. Wm. Pelham.¹⁹⁹

Annual Report of Officers of Retreat for the Insane, Hartford, Conn., from the His. Society of Connecticut.

Specimens of Copper, Silver and iron ore from the Placer Mountains. From Don Serafin Ramirez.

A Chinese Hat from Master James Gorman.²⁰⁰

Two volumes of sailing directions from Lieut. M. F. Maury, Corr. Member, Nat. Observatory, Washington, D. C.

1 Japanese Pipe

1 Japanese Tobacco Pouch with Japanese Tobacco.

196. James Duncan Graham, native of Virginia, graduated at West Point (fifth in his class) in 1813. He served in the artillery branch until 1829, when he was transferred to the topographical engineers. He was brevetted lieutenant-colonel, Jan. 1, 1847, "for valuable and highly distinguished service particularly on the boundary line between the U. S. and the provinces of Canada and New Brunswick." He served on the Union side during the Civil war; and died Dec. 28, 1865.

197. Edward Fitzgerald Beale had begun his career as a midshipman in the U. S. navy. He played an interesting part in Kearny's march to California (1846) and later as superintendent of Indian affairs in California (1850-53). He took part in the picturesque experiment of our government with camels, and he himself rode one of the "ships of the desert" from Texas to Los Angeles. Under the government's "Pacific Wagon Road program" (1856-57), Beale was entrusted with the survey and construction of the road from Fort Defiance to the Colorado river. Beale's caravan utilizing 25 camels, left Antonio in June 1857 and traveled via El Paso, Albuquerque and Zuñi, to Fort Defiance and thence westward.

Probably our Society became acquainted with Beale's activities through the government publications which they were receiving from Washington.

198. Lieutenant Bell had evidently offered his resignation by letter, and his election here as a corresponding member was consequent upon that fact. See the later minutes of this meeting; also note 42, *ante*.

199. William Pelham of Texas arrived at Santa Fé in December 1854 as the first U. S. surveyor general. This is the only mention of him in these minutes.

200. When W. W. H. Davis visited Laguna in the summer of 1855, this Master James Gorman served him as interpreter and guide. He was then about twelve years of age and spoke the Indian language with almost the same fluency as English. See note 18, *ante*; also Davis, *El Gringo*, 394-395.

1 Package Japanese Rice in original package.

2 Japanese Silver Coins.

4 Japanese Copper Coins.

Herndoñs Exploration of the Amazon Vol. 1.

Obituary addresses on the death of Hon. W. R. King,
vice President of the U. S.

Historical memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth, Vol. 1.

2 Maps of Stanbury's Expedition.

Laws passed by the General Assembly of the Territory
of New Mexico at its Session of December 1847, Santa Fé,
printed by Hovey and Davies, 1848. Presented by O. P.
Hovey, Esq.

Three specimens of Bituminous Coal by Harry Whiting.
One specimen of Pumice Stone by W. Zeckendorf.

One Wooden chain, 2 Baskets, and 1 Danish Shilling and
2 other smaller coins, presented by Wilhelm Zeckendorf.

1 Italian Lire, 1812 by Bernard Seligman.

3 Chihuahua clacós by T. F. Bowler Esq.²⁰¹

2 British 1-4 Guilders and 1 German Heller from Solomon
Beuthner.

2 Specimens of U. S. paper currency, 1 Ten Dollar bill
Bank of the United States, signed by N. Biddle and 1 Ten
Dollar bill of the Farmer and Mechanics Bank of Memphis
(counterfeit).

1 Skin of a New Mexican Badger by W. Zeckendorf.

Santa Fé August 27th, 1860

A. De Marle

Curator and Librarian

The committee to whom was referred the address of the Rev. S.
Gorman delivered before this Society on the evening of August 20th
ult, submitted the following report which was adopted and ordered to
be spread upon the minutes, viz:

"Santa Fé August 23d, 1860

Mr. President and Gentlemen
of the His. Soc. of N. Mex.

In pursuance of its appointment your Committee met at
the Society's rooms, and after due consideration, submit the
following Preamble and Resolutions:

201. Thomas F. Bowler became a Mason at Santa Fé between 1857 and 1864. He
is not otherwise identified.

Whereas In an address delivered at a Public meeting of this Society on the evening of Monday Aug. 20, 1860 the professed object of which was to elucidate "The origin and Early history of the Pueblo Indians" an effort was made to institute a comparison between certain forms of christianity, to the disparagement of one of these forms.

Be it Resolved That this society cannot but regard such an effort as offensive to good taste and judgement.

That it regrets its inability to have protected the tenderest feelings of a large and valuable portion of its members.

That although it is warmly enlisted in favor of the rights of free speech, it declines to have its Hall made the battleground of religious sectarianism.

That for the future such discussions shall be regarded as "out of order" and the President of the Society is hereby empowered to interfere for the preservation of the harmony of the society.

In conclusion the Committee would state that the most objectionable parts of the remarks seem to have been extemporaneous, since they are not contained in the written address submitted to the examination of your Committee.

Respectfully submitted

Committee	{	D. V. Whiting
		O. G. Wagner
		C. P. Clever
		A. De Marle
		F. P. Abreu

Communications were read from Drs. J. Letterman and B. J. D. Irwin, U. S. A., Hon. J. Thompson, Sec. of the Int., Lieut. W. H. Bell and Messrs. J. Lennox and J. K. Curtis.

The resignation of Lieut. W. H. Bell as a member of this Society, was accepted.

Lieut. O. G. Wagner was added to the Committee on Mineralogy.

On motion Dr. Sloan was requested to deliver an address before this Society on any subject which he may be pleased to select.

On motion the Society adjourned.

David V. Whiting
Rec. Sec.

Ninth Regular Meeting

Santa Fé New Mexico

September 24th, 1860

The Society was called to order at the hour appointed. The Corresponding Secretary in the Chair.

The minutes of the last stated meeting were read and approved.

Charles E. Wesche Esq. was unanimously elected a member of the Society.

The Librarian submitted the following report of contributions for the month, viz:

The proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History.
From the Society.

A specimen of polished variegated marble from near Santa Fé, from Mr. Jean Bouquet.

The following books presented by Dr. Sloan:

7 Vols. Pacific Railroad Report.

2 Vols. Gilliss Astronomical Expedition to Chile.

Perry's Japan Expedition.

Emory's U. S. and Mexican boundary Report

McClellan's Military Commission to Europe.

Smithsonian Reports 1857, 1858.

Ures Arts and Manufactures.

Downings Horticultural and Landscape Gardening.

Minutes of the General Association of Illinois—from the Association.

A Collection of political Lithographs from Lieut. J. D. Wilkins, Newport Barracks, Ky.

The New York Municipal Gazette from E. Merriam, Brooklyn.

Design of the Washington National Monument and a view of Zurich, Switzerland from L. Spiegelberg, Esq.

The Court of Death and a jar of Reptiles in alcohol from A. Elsberg, Esq.

A document dated 1711 signed by the Duke of Albuquerque by D. V. Whiting.

Santa Fe September 24, 1860

Signed A De Marle

The Recording Secretary was authorized to give a copy of the report adopted at the last meeting on the address on Pueblo Indians to Rev. Saml Gorman.

Communications were read from Dr. J. Letterman, U. S. A., C. J. Hoadley, Esq., Rochester His. Society, H. E. J. Buchanan, Lieut. A. W. Whipple T. E., Lieut. J. D. Wilkins, Mr. E. Merriam, Lieut. R. V. Bonneau, Mr. A. Elsberg, and Col. B. L. E. Bonneville.

Dr. W. J. Sloan tendered his resignation as Corresponding Secretary of this Society, which was accepted.

Capt. D. H. Maury and Dr. W. S. King were nominated to fill the vacancy.

The ballot being spread

Capt. Maury received twelve votes

Dr. King four votes.

Whereupon Capt. D. H. Maury was declared to be elected Corresponding Secretary of this Society.²⁰²

The communication of Col. Bonneville was ordered to be delivered to the Section on Geography and the communication of E. Merriam Esq. to the Section of Meteorology.

On motion the Society adjourned.

David V. Whiting

Rec. Sec.

Tenth Regular Meeting

Santa Fé New Mexico

October 29, 1860

The Society met at the hour appointed and was called to order by the Vice President.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and adopted.

John R. Bartlett of Rhode Island was elected an Honorary Member.²⁰³ E. G. Squiers Esq. was elected a Corresponding member.²⁰⁴

The resignation of Capt. D. H. Maury as Corresponding Secy. was read and accepted.

The election of a Corresponding Secretary was postponed until the next meeting.

On motion of C. P. Clever Esq. a committee consisting of Rev. Bishop Lamy, C. P. Clever and Jesus M^a Sena was appointed to corre-

202. Captain Maury resigned this office at the next meeting. See below; also note 182, *ante*. e

203. John R. Bartlett was distinguished as the first U. S. boundary commissioner under the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo.

204. E. G. Squiers has not been identified.

spond with the Bishop of Durango with a view of obtaining a copy of the "Teatro Mejicano" which contains matters of interest in regard to the history of New Mexico.²⁰⁵

Communications were read from Col. J. D. Graham, L. R. Bartlett Esq., and R. G. Campbell and Spencer F. Baird.²⁰⁶

The Society then adjourned.

David V. Whiting
Rec. Secy.

Special Meeting

Santa Fé New Mexico
December 10th, 1860

A quorum of the Society met at the appointed hour, when

On account of the absence of Officers, constitutionally qualified to preside, Judge Joab Houghton was called to the chair, and C. P. Clever was appointed Recording Secretary pro tem.

On Motion

Mjr. J. L. Donaldson
Hon. K. Benedict
C. P. Clever
Capt. R. A. Wainwright²⁰⁷
J. Houghton

were appointed a committee to make arrangements for a proper celebration of the anniversary of the Society.

On Motion Resolved, that the committee aforementioned is requested to report to the Society at a special meeting to be called for that purpose.

Whereupon

The Society adjourned.

C. P. Clever
Rec. Sec. pro tem

Special Meeting

Santa Fe N. M.
December 19th, 1860

The Society met, no officer, constitutionally qualified to preside being present, the Rev. S. Gorman was called to the chair, and C. P. Clever was appointed Recording Secty. pro tem.

205. The work sought was evidently that of José A. Villaseñor y Sánchez, *Theatro Mexicano* (Mexico, 1746, 2 vols.)

206. For Campbell, see note 135, *ante* "Spencer F. Baird" is probably an error for Spruce M. Baird,—as was L. R. Bartlett for J. R. Bartlett.

207. In preparing note 9, *ante*, this mention of Captain Wainwright was overlooked.

Mjr. J. L. Donaldson, Chairman of Committee of Arrangements, made the following report:

To the President of the Historical Society of New Mexico,

Sir: The Committee appointed to make arrangements for a proper celebration of the Anniversary of the institution, having performed the duties assigned to them, beg leave to report, that they have solicited the Hon. Kirby Benedict, Chief Justice, and Chairman of the Section on History, to deliver an address on that occasion, to which solicitation, that gentleman has kindly assented.

The Committee recommend the invitation of the Ladies in this city, His Excellency the Governor, both branches of the Legislature, the Commanding Officer of this Department and officers and citizens generally, to attend the meeting of the Society on that occasion.

They also propose the meeting on that day to commence at 6 o'clock P. M.

The Committee therefore recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

Resolved, that His Excellency the Governor, both Houses of the Legislative Assembly, and Col. Thos. T. Fauntleroy,²⁰⁸ Commanding Military Department of New Mexico, be especially invited to attend the meeting of this Society at the celebration of its anniversary, on Monday, the 31st of December next, at 6 o'clock P. M.

Resolved, that a public invitation be extended to the Ladies, civil and Military Officers and citizens generally, to attend said Meeting.

Resolved, that the Recording Secretary of the Society be instructed to have these resolutions published and carried into effect.

Respectfully submitted.

J. L. Donaldson

Chairman

Which said report was received and unanimously adopted, together with the resolutions.

On motion resolved, that the present Recording Secretary pro tem be continued during the vacation, and that he be appointed to collect the amounts due to the Society.

208. Thomas Turner Fauntleroy, native of Virginia, was colonel of the 1st Dragoons from July 1850 and succeeded Colonel Sumner as commandant at Santa Fé in 1852-54. He was again appointed to the same post in 1859, succeeding Bonneville. He resigned his commission May 13, 1861 and became brigadier general of Virginia Volunteers, C. S. A. He died Sept. 12, 1883.

Judge Houghton offered the following

Whereas, the time designated by the Constitution of this Society for the nomination of officers for the next ensuing year, being the regular monthly meeting next preceeding the annual meeting, having passed and in consequence of the absence of all the Officers constitutionally qualified to preside, and there not being a quorum of members present to organize a meeting, and thus no nominations having been made,

Therefor Resolved, that it be held lawful for this special meeting now assembled, to proceed "nunc pro tunc" to make such nomination of officers to be elected at the next annual meeting, on the 31st of December proximo.

Which preamble and resolution were adopted. Nominations for Officers being declared to be in order by the Chair

Mr. De Marle proposed

Col John B. Grayson to be selected President.

Mr. Clever proposed

Major James L. Donaldson Vice President.

Mjr. Donaldson proposed

Judge J. Houghton corresponding secretary.

Judge Houghton proposed

Mr. D. Hood " "

Judge Houghton proposed

C. P. Clever Recording Secretary

Mr. De Marle proposed

Mr. C. E. Wesche Librarian and Curator

Mr. Wesche proposed

Mr. B. Koch " "

and Mr. Zeckendorf proposed

Mr. A. De Marle " "

Whereupon the Society adjourned.

C. P. Clever

Rec. Sec. pro tem

Eleventh Regular Meeting

Santa Fe N. M.

December 31st, 1860

The anniversary Meeting was called to order by Col. John B. Grayson, President, C. P. Clever, acting Recording Secretary pro tem.

In conformity with former arrangements, the Hon. Kirby Benedict proceeded to deliver an address to the Society, and in the presence of a large audience, which address was read in Spanish by C. E. Wesche Esqr.

The President then read his annual report, which was read in Spanish by Mr. Wesche.

Mjr. James L. Donaldson, chairman of the Committee of finance submitted his report, which was read and ordered to be filed.

Mr. Clever, acting Recording Secretary submitted a report which was read and ordered to be filed.

The regular meeting of the Society having been called to Order

The Minutes of the last Regular and intervening meetings were read and adopted as read.

The Society then proceeded to the Election of officers for the next ensuing term, which resulted in the unanimous election of the following gentlemen:

Col. John B. Grayson, President, reelected.

Major James L. Donaldson, Vice President

Judge Joab Houghton, Corresponding Secretary

C. P. Clever, Esqr., Recording Secty and Treasurer

Charles Emil Wesche, Librarian and Curator

The Officers elect entered upon the discharge of their respective duties.

The President appointed the following standing Committees to serve during the ensuing term, viz:

Mjr. J. L. Donaldson, U. S. A.	}	Committee on finance
David Hood, Esqr. and		
Col. J. L. Collins		

C. P. Clever, Esqr.	}	Committee of arrangements
C. E. Wesche, Esqr. and		
General A. P. Wilbar		

Mjr. J. L. Donaldson offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted

"Resolved that the Hon. Kirby Benedict be requested to furnish the Recording Secretary with a copy of his address, that it may be preserved and published with the proceedings of the Society."

Mr. Clever introduced the following:

Resolved that a Committee of five be appointed whose duty it shall be to examine all papers, documents etc. filed in the Archives of the

Society as also the addresses delivered, and prepare them for publication. The said Committee to report at the next meeting.

Which resolution was adopted and

C. P. Clever Esqr.
Mjr. J. L. Donaldson
Rev. S. Gorman
Hon. K. Benedict and
Hon. J. Houghton,
were appointed said Committee

Rev. S. Gorman introduced the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved that Col. J. L. Collins be requested to deliver an address on some one of the wild tribes of Indians, within the Territory, as early as he may find it convenient.

Col. W. A. Street offered the following amendment to the By Laws of the Society:

"Amendment to Art. 8, By Laws

To read "fifty Cents" instead of "One Dollar," which, under the rule, was laid over until the next meeting.

The resignation of Capt. D. H. Maury was read and accepted.

The Curator and Librarian submitted the following report:

Donations since the last meeting

A Bow and quiver taken from a Navajo Indian, killed in the action of Oct. 3, at palo negro, presented by O. G. Wagner, Lieut. U. S. A.

Three spurs, used by the first explorers of the San Juan Mines, presented by Mr. Henry Mercure.

An English penny of the year 1831, presented by Mr. Thomas An Armijo.²⁰⁹

Arriban mas un tarrantule, ciento pies, which was sent by mail—donor unknown.

A De Marle Curator and Librarian

Whereupon the Society adjourned.

C. P. Clever
Rec. Secty.

209. The writing here is scrawled and illegible. If the name is Thomas Ant^o Armijo, he is unidentified. The Spanish which follows is pretty bad, but De Marle seems to be acknowledging receipt from some unknown donor of a tarrantula and a centipede.

Twelvth Regular Meeting

Santa Fe N. M.
January 28th, 1861

The Society was called to Order by Mjr. James L. Donaldson, Vice President.

The Minutes of the last regular meeting were read and adopted.

The Amendment to Art. 8 By Laws, to insert "fifty cents," instead of "One Dollar" monthly dues, was on motion, adopted and ordered to be placed on Record.

The Committee on printing requested further time to present their report, which was granted.

The Corresponding Secretary read communications from the following gentlemen:

1. The President of the Humboldt Natural [History ?] Society of New Orleans, La.

2. H. R. Schoolcraft L.L.D. of Washington.

3. Morrison,²¹⁰ Brooklyn Height, New York, which last communication was referred to the Section on Antiquity and Collections.

Whereupon, on Motion
The Society adjourned

C. P. Clever
Rec. Secty.

Thirteenth Regular Meeting

Santa Fe, New Mexico
February 25th, 1861

The Society was called to order by Col. John B. Grayson, President.

The Minutes of the last Regular Meeting were read and adopted.

Application of A. Hunt Esqr.²¹¹ of Las Vegas, was read, and laid over until the next regular meeting.

The Committee on printing made the following Report:

To the President etc.

210. Mr. Morrison is not identified. Clever failed to record the full name before letting the communication get out of his hands.

211. Augustine M. Hunt became a Mason at Santa Fé between 1857 and 1864; otherwise we have no information on him outside of these minutes. He is spoken of as "of Las Vegas." In December he was elected curator and librarian for 1862, and was reelected a year later. When the Society disbanded in September 1863, he was made permanent custodian of such property and collections as were not then disposed of.

The undersigned Committee on printing beg leave to report that they have taken the duties assigned to them under consideration, and have appointed Mjr. J. L. Donaldson and Hon. K. Benedict to make the necessary selection of the documents proper for publication. Your Committee recommends that a reasonable time be allowed them to make a final report, as the duties imposed upon them are such as require considerable time for their completion.

Respectfully submitted

Which report was adopted.

The Committee.

The Curator and Librarian made the following Report:

Donations to the Society during the two last months:

One Silver Coin, Un Real, 1777 from Gl. A. P. Wilbar

Report of the Smithsonian Institute for the year 1859, from the Hon. M. A. Otero.

Santa Fe, N. M. Feby 28, 1861

C. E. Weshe C. & L.

Mr. Gorman offered the following resolution:

Resolved that a Committee of three be appointed by the chair to take into consideration the propriety of Building a room for the use of this Society to report at next meeting, and if thought favorable, to report a plan of Building, and the probable costs thereof.

Which Resolution was adopted and the President appointed the Rev. Mr. Gorman, J. Houghton and Mjr. Donaldson members of said Committee.

Mr. Clever offered the following:

Resolved that the Cor. Secretary be requested to address communications to such gentlemen as have been selected by this Society to write essays on subjects embraced within the objects of this Organization, and to request of them to inform this Society whether or not they intend to comply with the desire of the Society.

Which Resolution was adopted.

On Motion of Judge Houghton, Messrs. Houghton, De Marle and Hodges were appointed a Committee to draft rules and regulations for the government of the library of the Society.

Whereupon On Motion

The Society adjourned.

C. P. Clever

Rec. Secty.

Fourteenth Regular Meeting

Santa Fe, N. M.

March 25, 1861

The Society was called to order by Mjr. James L. Donaldson, Vice President.

The minutes of the last regular meeting were read and adopted.

Mr. August Hunt of Las Vegas was elected to become a member of the Society.

The Curator and Librarian made the following Report of Donations to the Society during the month of March:

from Hon. M. A. Otero

3 vol. Public Documents 1859-60

1 vol. Public Documents Rep. finances 1858-59 and

1 vol. Public Documents Rep. Com. and Nav.

from Mr. Wm Zeckendorf

A Spanish Copper Coin 1686 or 1786

from the U. S. Patent office

27 Copies of the Agricultural portion of the Report of the Com. of Patents and

A variety of garden seeds

from C. E. Wesche

Una Carta fechada Mex. Nov. 24, 1849, de Don Mariano Otero a General Don Manuel Armijo, cuando éste se hallaba preso en Chihuahua, and

Una Copia del Decreto de 19 Agosto 1848 del General Don Joaquin de Herrera

from D. V. Whiting Esqr.

22 volumes of I. F. Laharps "Abrigé de l'histoire générale des voyages"

1 volume Indigenous Races of the Earth

1 volume Types of Mankind

1 volume Noticias Secretas de America

3 volumes Quarterly Journal of Agriculture

Charles Cullen's Translation of the History of Mexico by Abbé Clavigero in three volumes

Wm. Heine's Graphic scenes of the Japan Expedition

Morrison's view of the Public Buildings and Statues of Washington City

The Committee on Building reported a plan for Building which on Motion was laid over until the next regular meeting.

On motion it was resolved that Lieut. Wagner U. S. A. be requested to deliver an address on the late War with the Navajoe Indians.²¹²

Communications from J. K. Curtis New York and from the Patent Office were read and filed.

Lieut. Wagner offered the following:

That the Communications from the Agricultural Department of the Patent Office and accompanying seeds be placed in charge of the Agricultural Section of this Society, with instructions to distribute these seeds, giving preference to such gentlemen as are members of this Society, and further that this Section be requested to report specially in regard to the results of the cultivation of such seeds.

Which resolution was adopted.

Mr. Joseph Wilson of Washington City, on Motion was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.²¹³

A vote of thanks was tendered to Mr. Whiting for his liberal Donation of Books to this Society.

On Motion ordered, that the Expenses had by Mr. Whiting in bringing those books per mail across the plains be refunded to him.

The Cor. Secty was instructed to write to the Hon. Secty. of Interior at Washington in regard to the Books lately sent to this Society by the Interior Department.

The Librarian was instructed to subscribe for the Historical Magazine.

Whereupon the Society adjourned.

C. P. Clever
Rec. Secty.

Fifteenth Regular Meeting

Santa Fé, N. M.
April 29th, 1861.

The Society was called to order by the Hon. J. Houghton.

The members present being less than the necessary number to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, they adjourned to the next regular meeting.

Chs. Emil Wesche
Rec. Sec. pro tem

212. On Wagner, see note 23, *ante*. Reference here is to a punitive campaign which had been waged the previous fall. Apparently this address was not prepared and this was the last meeting which Wagner attended.

213. Joseph Wilson has not been identified.

Sixteenth Regular Meeting

Santa Fé, N. M.

May 27th, 1861

The Society was called to order at 8½ o'clock P. M., President Col. John B. Grayson in the Chair.

By a vote of the Society the regular order of business was dispensed with and Col. Grayson delivered his able and eloquent valedictory address, after which he resigned the presidency and the Chair was filled by the Hon. J. Houghton.

On A. De Marle Esq. Motion Col. John B. Grayson was elected a honorary member of the Society by the unanimous vote of the members present.

On motion of the Rev. S. Gorman a special meeting of the Society was ordered to be held this day week for the purpose of hearing resolutions to be drafted by a committee of three, expressing the feelings of the Society with regard to the separation of the late President. The Chair appointed a committee:

Rev. S. Gorman

Col. W. A. Street

Chs. Emil Wesche Esq.

The Society then on motion adjourned.

Chs. Emil Wesche

Rec. Sec. pro tem

Special Meeting

Santafe June 3, 1861

The meeting was called to Order by Joab Houghton, Esqr. Corr. Secretary.

Rev. Gorman, Chairman of the Committee appointed for the purpose, reported the following Resolutions:

[blank]

Remarks were made by the Rev. S. Gorman, the Hon. K. Benedict and Col. John B. Grayson after which the Resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Ordered that the said Resolutions be published in the Santafe Gazette and the Historical Magazine, and that the Rec. Secty. furnish a Copy thereof to Col. John B. Grayson.

The Society then adjourned.

C. P. Clever

Rec. Secty.

Seventeenth Regular Meeting

Santafe, N. M.

June 24, 1861

The Society was called to order by Mjr. Donaldson, Vice President.

The reading of the Minutes of the previous meeting was postponed.

The Curator and Librarian made the following Report:

Donations to the Hist. Soc. of N. M. received during the last Quarter:

A chamois leather jacket made by Zuñi Indians presented by Capt. E. J. Bucknam.²¹⁴

A Stalactite

W. Zeckendorf

A View of Charleston S. C. pres. by D. V. Whiting, Esqr.

A letteh of President Paredes to General Armijo dated Mexico, April 22 1846, presented by Chas. E. Wesche Esqr.

Offerings of Pueblo Indians to their Idol Gods presented by Rev. S. Gorman.

An antique Mexican seal, presented by Mr. Jacob Krummeck.²¹⁵

An antique Spanish Dragoon pistol, presented by Louis Felsenthal Esqr.

A lot of seeds from the U. S. Patent Office.

Rev. S. Gorman offered resolutions in regard to the finances of the Society, which after some discussion were withdrawn.

The President appointed Mr. Ch. Blumner member of the finance committee.

The Resignation of Lieut. Wagner was read and received, and on Motion he was elected a corresponding member of the Society.

Mr. Wesche was appointed by the Chair a member of the Section on Mineralogy and Geology.

The Society then adjourned.

C. P. Clever

Rec. Secty.

214. See note 106, *ante*.

215. Jacob Krummeck became a Mason at Santa Fé between 1857 and 1864; otherwise, he is not identified.

Eighteenth Regular Meeting

Santa fe, N. M.

July 29, 1861

The Society was called to Order by Mjor. James L. Donaldson, Vice President.

The Minutes of the previous meetings were read and adopted.

The report of the Rec. Secretary with accompanying documents relative to the financial condition of the Society eas read and ordered to be filed.

The Curator and librarian made the following Report:

Donations to the Historical Society of New Mexico, received during the month of July 1861.

From Wm. Zeckendorff Esqr. a lot of Quartz cristals.

From L. Felsenthal, Esqr. Epaulettes of the late Col. Muñoz, Mexican Army.

From O. P. Hovey Esqr. a Common Salamander, (slamandra terrestris) alive, and a couple of yellow striped corn leaves.

Santa Fe N. M. July 29, 1861

C. E. Wesche
Cur & Lib.

Mr. W. Zeckendorf offered the following resolution:

Resolved that a Committee of three be appointed to assist the Treasurer in collecting the dues from members of the Society.

Which was rejected.

Mr. Clever offered the following:

Resolved that the Hon. Kirby Benedict be requested to deliver a lecture or lectures on any historical subject connected with the history of this Territory at such time or times as he may consider proper and that the President be authorized to call special meetings of the Society for that purpose, if such should be desired.

Which Resolution was unanimously adopted.

Whereupon the Society adjourned.

C. P. Clever
Rec. Secty.

Nineteenth Regular Meeting

Santa Fé, N. M. November 25th, 1861

The Society was called to order by J. Houghton, Corresponding Secretary.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and adopted.

On motion, his Excellency Wm. Gilpin²¹⁶ Governor of the Territory of Colorado was unanimously elected an honorary member of this Society.

A communication from his Excellency A. Rencher transmitting his Daguerreotype was received, read, and ordered to be filed.

The resignation of Rev. Sam. Gorman, member of the Society was read and accepted.

Mr. Chs. E. Wesche Librarian and Curator of the Society submitted the following report:

Donations received since last Regular Meeting:

A Daguerreotype of his Excellency, A. Rencher, late Governor of this Territory, presented by the same.

216. William Gilpin (1822-94) was a native of Pennsylvania, attended school in England, graduated at the University of Pennsylvania, and was a cadet at West Point for about eight months. He was commissioned a 2nd lieutenant in the 2nd dragoons, and after some recruiting duty in Missouri he saw service in the Seminole War. When his request to make an exploring expedition to the headwaters of the Columbia River was refused, he resigned his commission (Apr. 1838) and became an editor in St. Louis, and also clerk of the house of representatives (1840). The next year he established his home in Independence, Mo., and 1843 saw him starting on his long-dreamed-of expedition to the Columbia; but on the plains he joined up with Frémont and went to California instead. His report to Washington (March 1846) became a senate document. In spite of the personal antagonism of Kearny, Gilpin managed to get into the Army of Occupation and was elected major in Doniphan's regiment. Later (1847-48) he did valuable service with "Gilpin's Battalion, Mo. Mounted Volunteers" in keeping open the Santa Fé Trail against hostile Indians.

In the presidential election of 1860, "it is said that William Gilpin was the only man living in Jackson county, Missouri, who voted for Abraham Lincoln." He was one of those who personally attended Lincoln on the journey to Washington for the inauguration, and was one of those who helped guard the White House in that critical time. One of President Buchanan's last acts was to sign the bill making Colorado a territory; and an early act of President Lincoln was to appoint Gilpin the first governor. He arrived in Denver by stage late in May 1861.

In recruiting and equipping the First Colorado Regiment—which was to play a decisive part in March 1862 in saving New Mexico for the Union—Gilpin issued drafts on the national treasury which were not honored. In time, the matter was adjusted; but it had an aftermath in the removal of Gilpin from office in May 1862.

With this background, it is interesting to note here his election as an honorary member of our Historical Society in November 1861; also that he was in Santo Fé a year later. Someone has called him "the John the Baptist of the West." It would be gratifying to locate a copy of the address on "physical geography" which he delivered before the Society at the special meeting of January 20, 1863.

Misc. Copies of the agricultural Report of the Commissioner of Patents received from the U. S. Patent Office.

On motion that the surplus number of copies of Patent Office Report on agriculture be distributed among gentlemen in this Territory following agricultural pursuits.

Nominations for officers of the Society to serve during the ensuing year being in order the following nominations were made:

For President

Wm. Zeckendorf Esqr. nominated Hon. Kirby Benedict

Chs. E. Wesche Esqr. nominated Major James L. Donaldson

For Vice President

Hon. J. Houghton nominated Wm. A. Street Esqr.

Wm. Zeckendorf Esqr. nominated Major James L. Donaldson

For recording Secretary

Hon. K. Benedict nominated Chs. P. Clever Esq.

Ch. E. Wesche Esqr. nominated Chs. Blumner Esqr.

For Curator and Librarian

Chs. E. Wesche Esq. nominated A. Hunt, Esqr.

Hon. J. Houghton nominated Chs. E. Wesche Esq.

On motion of the Hon. K. Benedict, it was resolved, that a Commission and other documents, issued by the Republic of Mexico to Capt. Antonio Sena, and on a former occasion presented to this Society be returned to the same by our Librarian.²¹⁷

Application for membership of John Greiner Esqr.²¹⁸ was read and under the rule of the Society laid over until next meeting.

217. Antonio Sena belongs to the Mexican period of New Mexico history. His name appears in a conveyance of property at Santa Fé in 1831. In 1837-38 he was a sergeant of the presidial troop and also was teacher of one of two little schools in Santa Fé that next spring. He first appears as a captain in 1843, and from the fall elections of that year he was a deputy in the departmental assembly—at first as a *suplente* (alternate) and in 1846 as a *vocal*. He does not appear in public affairs after the American Occupation, but this reference indicates that he was still living. (see *Old Santa Fé*, I-II, indexes)

218. John Greiner, resident of Columbus, Ohio, was appointed in the spring of 1851 an Indian agent for New Mexico. He arrived in Santa Fé in July and at first was located at Taos, in charge of Utes and Apaches in the Cimarrón country. When Gov. J. S. Calhoun was leaving for the east, he appointed Greiner (as senior agent) acting superintendent of Indian affairs, effective Apr. 1, 1852. His appointment as territorial secretary arrived Aug. 28 and he was sworn in two days later; but the new governor, Wm. Carr Lane, reached Santa Fé Sept. 9 and was inaugurated September 13. Greiner continued as secretary to May 1853, when Messervy took that office. Possibly Greiner returned to Ohio for several years, but sometime between 1857 and 1864 he became a Mason at Santa Fé; and here in Nov.-Dec. 1861 he is joining the Historical Society. A "Theodore" Greiner of Ohio was appointed in 1862 Pueblo Indian agent at Santa Fé; and from 1864 to 1866 John Greiner was both receiver of the U. S. land office at Santa Fé and U. S. depository and disbursing officer there. At this time he had the title "Major," and there is mention of his family with him in Santa Fé. (Twitchell, *Old Santa Fé*, 353)

On motion, resolved that the Hon. J. Houghton and Chs. E. Wesche Esqr. be requested, each to deliver an address at the next anniversary meeting of the Society, the first named Gentleman, one in English, and the last named Gentleman one in the Spanish language.

Resolved that the committee of arrangements be instructed to make all arrangements necessary for the proper celebration of said anniversary whereupon on motion the Society adjourned.

C. P. Clever
Rec. Secty.

Twentieth Regular Meeting

Santa Fé N. M. December 30th, 1861

Annual Meeting

The Society was called to order by Major J. L. Donaldson Vice President.

On motion of the Hon. Kirby Benedict the rules were suspended for the purpose of hearing the address of Mr. Chas. E. Wesche.

Whereupon Mr. Wesche delivered an address in the Spanish language.

On motion of the Hon. K. Benedict Mr. Wesche was unanimously requested to furnish the Society Copies of his address in the English and Spanish language.

The minutes were then read and adopted as read. The petition of Mr. Jas. H. Holmes,²¹⁹ applying for membership to this Society, was read and ordered to be laid over until next meeting as provided under the rules.

J. Greiner Esqr. was duly elected to become a member of this Society.

219. James H. Holmes and his wife, on the Santa Fé Trail in June 1858, joined "the Lawrence party," gold-seekers who had left Lawrence, Kans., in May for Colorado. One of the party in a letter said of Mrs. Holmes: "She is a regular woman's righter, wears the bloomer, and was quite indignant when informed that she was not allowed to stand on guard. She is young, handsome, and intelligent." She climbed Pike's Peak in August—the first white woman to accomplish it. For two weeks the party was prospecting on "Placer creek, fifteen miles from Fort Garland in New Mexico"; and apparently from there "Mr. and Mrs. Holmes and some others moved southward to Taos, New Mexico"—where Mrs. Holmes was said to have gotten a position as teacher. (Hafen, ed., *Pike's Peak Guide Books*, 62-4, 70, 332)

If this was the Holmes who joined the Historical Society in December 1861, we have only one additional glimpse of him. In July 1861, James H. Holmes of Vermont was made territorial secretary, instead of M. A. Otero whose appointment had not been confirmed.

The Recording Secretary and ex officio Treasurer of the Society then submitted his annual report, which was read, approved of by the Society and ordered to be filed among the archives.

The Election of Officers for the ensuing year being in order the following Gentlemen were elected:

Major Jas. L. Donaldson, President
Hon. Kirby Benedict, Vice President
Wm. Osterton Esq., Recording Secretary
A. Hunt Esq., Curator and Librarian

Two communications of the Hon. Caleb Smith, Secretary of the Interior were read and ordered to be referred to the Corresponding Secretary.

Whereupon the Society adjourned.

C. P. Clever
Recg Secty.

As most of the Officers and members of this Society had left Santa Fé on account of the Texan invasion and owing to the disturbed state of affairs in our Territory, the rooms of the Historical Society of New Mexico were not opened until the 2nd day of June 1862, when the

Twenty first Meeting was held.²²⁰

The Society was called to order by Judge Houghton in the chair, the minutes of the last regular meeting were read and adopted.

Jas. H. Holmes Esq. was elected a member of this society.

Chas. P. Clever Esq. offered the following

Preamble and Resolutions:

Whereas this Society has learned with profound regret, that Lieutenant Orlando G. Wagner, Corps of Topographical Engineers, U. S. A., a member of this Society, has been one of those, chosen by an Allwise Providence, to sacrifice his life upon the altar of his country for the maintenance of our Constitution and Union;²²¹

Therefore, Be it resolved by the Historical Society of New Mexico, that in the death of Lieut. Orlando G. Wagner our Country and Government have lost a gallant, faithful and efficient public Officer, Science an ardent co-laborer, and Society a highly intelligent and amiable member.

220. The Texan invasion entered the Mesilla valley in July 1861. It reached Santa Fé in March, but was driven back in April-May.

221. On Wagner, see note 23, *ante*; also note 212.

That we deeply sympathise with his family in their bereavement, and that as a token of respect to our deceased member, the usual badge of mourning will be worn for 30 days.

Resolved further, that the Secretary shall cause this resolution to be published and a copy thereof, under the seal of the Society be transmitted to the family of the deceased.

which Preamble and Resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Hon. J. Houghton then delivered a biographical sketch of Capt. Joseph R. Walker, the pioneer explorer of the Rocky Mountain regions, and a copy of this address was filed in the archives of the Society.²²²

Whereupon the Society adjourned.

Wm. Osterton
Rec. Secr.

Twenty second Regular Meeting

Santa Fé New Mexico
June 30th, 1862

The Society met at the hour appointed and was called to order by Col. Jas L. Donaldson President.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and adopted.

A communication was received by the Committee of Invitation for the Celebration of the fourth of July, which was read and adopted and the Curator ordered, to have the rooms of the Society opened on the morning of the 4th of July for the purpose of members assembling to form a procession to the place of Celebration.²²³

On motion of Chas. P. Clever Esqr., holding forth the difficulty of collecting the subscriptions due the Society it was resolved, to

222. Joseph R. Walker (1798-1876), trapper-explorer and guide, first journeyed from Independence, Mo., to Santa Fé in 1820 in a party of trappers—who were expelled. For twelve years he operated out of Independence. In 1832, he was in a party, 110 strong, led by Bonneville to Green River. In July 1833, Bonneville sent him with fifty men to explore westward. They went via Great Salt Lake to Humboldt River and "Walker Lake"; and are said to have been the first whites to cross the Sierra Nevada from the east and the first to see the Yosemite Valley. From Monterey, they returned next spring via "Walker's Pass" to the Great Basin. For the next nine years Walker remained in the Rockies; in 1845-46, he guided Frémont's third expedition to California. For most of his remaining years he was identified with California and Arizona. (W. H. Ghent in the *Dict. of Am. Biog.*)

223. Probably this is the only time that the Historical Society ever marched in this way. It is unfortunate that the secretary did not make a record of those who participated on this memorable Fourth of July.

authorize the Treasurer, to employ and pay a collector, the collection fees not to exceed five per cent.

The Curator and Librarian submitted the following report:

Santa Fé N. M. June 30th, 1862

I received from the Hon. Joab Houghton a fine photograph of himself to be presented to the Society.

(signed) Aug. M. Hunt
Curator and Librarian

On motion the Society adjourned.

Wm. Osterton
Rec. Secretary

P. S.

On motion of C. P. Clever Esq. the Corresponding Secretary was requested, to take steps, to obtain some relics of the late battles with the Texans in our Territory.

Wm. Osterton
Rec. Secr.

Twenty Third Regular Meeting

Santa Fé N. M. December 29th, 1862

The anniversary meeting was called to order by Hon. Kirby Benedict, President pro tem:—

Mr. Wm. Osterton, ex officio Treasurer, read his annual report, which was submitted to the Committee on Finance.

The Society then proceeded to the election of officers for the ensuing year, which resulted in the unanimous election of the following gentlemen:

Hon. Kirby Benedict, President
Chas. P. Clever Esq., Vice President
Wm. Osterton Esq., Recording Secretary
A. M. Hunt Esq., Curator and Librarian

On motion of Chas. P. Clever Esq. it was Resolved that Governor W. Gilpin be requested to deliver a discourse before this Society, at such time and on such subject as may meet his convenience, and that a Committee of three be appointed, to extend the invitation.

The Chair appointed:

Chas. P. Clever Esq.	}	Committee
Hon. Joab Houghton		
Don Pedro Valdez		

On motion of Hon. Joab Houghton it was Resolved that the Hon. Kirby Benedict, President elect of this Society is hereby requested to deliver an address at its next regular meeting upon the occasion of the installation of officers.

The Corresponding Secretary read a communication from our late President, Col. Jas. L. Donaldson, who presented the society with his photograph, which, on motion of Mr. C. P. Clever, it was resolved to have framed.

The standing Committee on Arrangements was charged to make preparations for the invitation of citizens, to attend at the delivery of the lectures.

Whereupon on motion the Society adjourned.

Wm. Osterton
Recording Secretary

Special Meeting

Santa Fé, N. M. January 20th, 1863

The President called the Society to order and introduced Governor W. Gilpin, who proceeded to deliver a lecture on physical geography.

On motion of Chas. P. Clever Esq. it was

Resolved that the thanks of the Society be presented to Governor W. Gilpin for his highly interesting discourse delivered this evening and that a copy thereof be requested for the archives of the society and for publication.

The following gentlemen were appointed Committee to wait upon Governor Gilpin and express the thanks of the society:

Hon. Joab Houghton
Chas. P. Clever Esq.
Right Rev. J. B. Lamy

The Society then on motion adjourned.

Wm. Osterton
Recordg Secretary

Regular Meeting

Santa Fe, N. M. Janry 25th 1863

The meeting was called to order by C. P. Clever Esq. Vice President.

A Communication from Hon. Kirby Benedict was read, stating that sickness prevented him, to deliver his address before the Society this evening.

Hon. Joab Houghton moved, that a Committee be appointed to wait upon Hon. K. Benedict and request him, to furnish the Society with a copy of his address, delivered at the anniversary meeting 1861, for publication.²²⁴

The Chair appointed:

Hon. Joab Houghton	}	Committee
Chas. Blumner Esq.		
D. B. Koch		

On motion of Mr. W. Osterton Hon. Chas. Bulling²²⁵ of Baltimore was elected an honorary member.

On motion of Hon. J. Houghton it was resolved that copies of Gov. Gilpin's address were printed.

Whereupon the Society adjourned.

Wm. Osterton
Rec. Secty.

Regular Meeting

Santa Fé N. M.
September 28th, 1863

The meeting was called to order by the President. The proceedings of the last meeting were read and adopted. Mr. Osterton offered the following:

Resolved that the room of this Society be surrendered and the furniture and such other (property) articles, as may be designated by a committee of three, to be appointed by the chair for that purpose, be sold and the proceeds be applied to discharge the debts of the Society.

To which Mr. Blumner offered the following amendment:

That the Curator of the Society is hereby instructed to procure and take care of such property, things and donations, as shall be retained until further disposition shall be made by the Society.²²⁶

The above resolution and amendment was unanimously carried. Hon. Joab Houghton offered the following:

Resolved that Mr. A. M. Hunt, the Curator of the Society on Saturday next, 3rd of October, make public sale of all such property and things, pertaining to this Society, designated by the committee

224. See the minutes of Dec. 30, 1860. We do not even know what his subject was.

225. Charles Bulling has not been identified.

226. See note 211, *ante*. No record seems to have been made of such retained properties.

for sale, receive the proceeds of sale and after paying the expenses thereof, to pay the balance over to the Treasurer,—which was also carried.

The following gentlemen were then appointed by the President as committee to select the property to be retained:

Hon. Joab Houghton	}
Chas. E. Wesche Esq.	
A. M. Hunt, Esq.	

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned *sine die*.

Wm. Osterton
Rec. Secretary

NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE FORGOTTEN CRISTÓBAL DE OÑATE—It is very generally known that the colonizer and first governor of New Mexico, Don Juan de Oñate, was son of one Cristóbal de Oñate, brother of another, and father of still a third. If the reader should come upon some account of the so-called conspiracy of the Marqués del Valle, otherwise the "Ávila-Cortés conspiracy," of 1565-67, and should notice that one of the chief victims in the ruthless handling of that affair was a Cristóbal de Oñate, it will be very natural to ask whether he was one of the above three or a fourth man of the same name.

Because of the date of that conspiracy, our governor's son is ruled out, because he was not born before 1588. His brother also is eliminated by an *Información de méritos* to which we have previously called attention.¹ In 1578, this Cristóbal, twin-brother of our governor, was still alive! Also he testified that he was then twenty-six years of age; so that in 1565 he would have been only thirteen years old. As far as age goes, the Cristóbal de Oñate who was involved in the conspiracy could have been our governor's father; and such identity has been made by at least one historian.² But this is definitely contradicted by Mexican authorities who state that the Cristóbal who suffered torture and a shameful death under the visitor Muñoz was "a relative" of our governor's father (of the same name), from whom he was distinguished by being called "el joven."³ Who then was this fourth Cristóbal?

A possible explanation of the enigma is offered by the Coronado *residencia* which the writer photographed in Sevilla, Spain, early in 1939, and which is now in our Coronado Library, University of New Mexico.⁴ To call this great expediente the "Coronado residencia" is somewhat misleading, because it was not primarily an investigation of Coronado as leader of the expedition to the new land of Cibola, nor solely of him as the outgoing governor of New Galicia. Rather, Judge Lorenzo Tejada who had been delegated by the Audiencia of Mexico to conduct the investiga-

1. NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, XIV, 118. The *información* is in A. G. I., Aud. de Guadalajara, 47, LBB title 124.

2. H. I. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, 94.

3. *México á través de los siglos*, II, 394, note.

4. The facsimile is from A. G. I., Justicia, 339, in four *piezas*. Excerpts of this have already been used in Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition* (Albuquerque, 1940).

tion was instructed to look into the doings of Coronado, and of his lieutenant-governor Cristóbal de Oñate, and of any others (as he might deem best) who had been serving as officials in New Galicia. Accordingly, Tejada seems (from the dates) to have initiated and carried along a number of investigations simultaneously.

Our immediate interest is in *Pieza* 3 where inquiry is being made regarding various Indian pueblos formerly held by Nuño de Guzmán, the recovery of which was now sought by the king. The evidence as recorded centers down to two such pueblos, one held in encomienda by Juan de Villalva and the other by Cristóbal de Oñate "el mozo." Besides being thus designated repeatedly, the latter is also several times spoken of by the lieutenant-governor Don Cristóbal as "mi hijo."

Were Cristóbal "el mozo" of 1544 and Cristóbal "el joven" of 1565-67 one and the same man? Unfortunately our knowledge about the father is inadequate, but the facts which are known definitely favor such an identification. We are told⁵ that the father arrived in New Spain in the fall of 1524 but our first record of actual service is as a captain of Nuño de Guzmán—from whom he received the gift of various pueblos, in the years 1528-29, and with whom he went to the conquest of New Galicia in 1530.

Now, for Cristóbal "el mozo" to have been old enough in 1544 (the time of the *residencia*) to be *encomendero* of a pueblo, he must have been born when, or very soon after, the father arrived in Mexico City. He may have been an illegitimate son, but we are inclined to think that there was an earlier marriage, a first wife of whom we know nothing and who perhaps died at the birth of this son. The numerous sources quoted by Mrs. Cornish know only of the wife who was later mother of our governor, Don Juan. This was Doña Cathalina de Salazar who, previously married and left a widow in Spain, came to Mexico City and married Don Cristóbal—but here, unfortunately, year dates are not indicated. It will be apparent, however, that Doña Cathalina could not have been the mother of "el mozo" (say before 1528) and also mother of the twins Juan and Cristóbal (1552) and still later of their brother Alonso. More probably her marriage was in the late 1530's.

Whether legitimate or not, "el mozo" would be a half-brother of the later sons, and it may be objected that

5. Beatrice Q. Cornish, "The ancestry and family of Juan de Oñate," in *The Pacific Ocean in History*, 452-464.

from 1552 to 1568 (when "el joven" was executed) there would be two sons named Cristóbal. But this was not unusual in the case of sons of different mothers,—and this is an added reason for the above explanation.⁶

In the years 1565-68 while México was perturbed by the Ávila-Cortés conspiracy and its aftermath, Don Cristóbal the father seems to have been still living, held in high esteem for the enviable record which he had made and as one of the four "discoverers of Zacatecas." Possibly out of regard for him, Cristóbal "el joven" is spoken of as his "relative" rather than as his son. During the investigation of the conspiracy, the mere threat of torture had caused this Cristóbal to break, and the information which he gave was disastrous to relatives and associates.⁷ So it would not be strange if they tried to forget him, to blot out all name and remembrance of him. But fortunately the Coronado *residencia* of 1544 has preserved the above references to him which enable us to clear the good name of his father, who was also the father of our first governor.—L.B.B.

THE HEWETT FOUNDATION.—Deeds and documents filed in the office of the clerk of Santa Fé county on Tuesday, September 6, 1943, conveyed to the School of American Research at Santa Fé, the real estate and personal holdings, scientific and art collections as well as library of Dr. and Mrs. Edgar L. Hewett. This endowment, conservatively appraised at One Hundred Thousand Dollars, creates the Hewett Foundation, the income from which is to be devoted to research, publication and stipends for research fellows and associates of the School. It is the intention of Dr. and Mrs. Hewett to add further to the Foundation by testamentary disposition of assets retained by them for the present. The gift was accepted with profound expressions of gratitude at the annual meeting of the Board of Managers of the School, a meeting which is always held at Santa Fé Fiesta time, in which annual convocation the Board of Regents of the Museum of New Mexico joins.

6. As a single illustration, Hernán Cortés had two sons, each named Martín.

7. For a summarized account of the investigation, the tortures inflicted, and the sentences executed on those condemned, see H. H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, II, 605-621; *México á través de los siglos*, II, 391-398; Cavo, *Los tres siglos de Méjico*, 55-58. Cortés was something of a 16th century play-boy, but under torture by cord, by rack, and by water, his fortitude was unshaken—he showed himself a worthy son of his father. Young Oñate, on the other hand, proved utterly pliable—yet failed to save himself from either torture or shameful death.

The first session this year was held in the Woman's Museum Board room of the Art Museum with Dr. Hewett presiding. Out-of-town members of the Board of Managers in attendance were: Dr. Rufus B. Von KleinSmid, president of the University of Southern California; Dr. J. F. Zimmerman, president of the University of New Mexico; Prof. W. W. Postlewaite of Colorado College, Colorado Springs; Dr. H. C. Gossard of Eastern New Mexico College at Portales; Judge C. M. Botts of Albuquerque, and Willard V. King of New York City. Amendments to the by-laws of the School as well as a resolution for the extension of the charter of the School under the law enacted by the last legislature were adopted assuring the corporation practical perpetuity. The treasurer's report showed receipts of \$51,939 during the past fiscal year and a balance on hand of \$2,967.65. Never in the more than thirty years existence of the institution has it incurred a deficit or spent beyond its budgetary provisions. After reports of associates and curators, Member Henry Dendahl presented formally to the School for its permanent exhibit, the fine painting of the Bishop's Chapel by Artist Van Soelen. The painting represents the chapel as it appeared in the days of Archbishop Lamy. A vote of thanks was extended to Mr. Dendahl, who has upon previous occasions presented much-prized native handicraft to the School and Museum.

The second session of the annual meeting was held in the Hall of Ethnology. There were shown and examined recent publications by the School and the University of New Mexico. Plans were made for future publication of manuscripts in hand, including reproductions in color of murals from the walls of an underground kiva at the Coronado monument near Bernalillo, as well as paintings by the Indian artists who under the tutelage of the School, inaugurated the present Indian arts movement. Ready to be distributed is a folio of silk screen reproductions in color of the santo paintings on elk and deer skins of the collection of the New Mexico Historical Society. The edition is limited to a hundred portfolios. The School possesses the only photographic copy of the great Florentine codex of Sahagún, a monumental report on early Mexico in the Nahuatl and Spanish languages. The codex was photographed in Florence, Italy, by Lansing Bloom, secretary of the New Mexico Historical Society. Distribution of limited copies to three universities and several scientific institutions in Europe was authorized by the Board.

The third and final session of the Board was held in the Coronado room of La Fonda where luncheon was served. There features of the proposed Hewett Foundation was discussed giving rise to eloquent testimonials to Dr. and Mrs. Hewett. The notable achievements of Dr. Hewett in the fields of archaeology, education and sociology, not only in New Mexico but throughout the world, were recalled by the speakers. It was Dr. Hewett's inspiration, endeavors and gifts that created the fine group of buildings, which, added to the reconstructed Palace of the Governors, houses the Museum of New Mexico and School of American Research.

The election of officers concluded the annual meeting and resulted in the re-election of Dr. Edgar L. Hewett as president; Paul A. F. Walter as vice-president and treasurer, and Charles B. Barker as secretary of the managing board, these to constitute the executive committee with A. O. Bowden, Leonora S. Curtin, Frederick W. Hodge, J. O. Seth, Daniel T. Kelly, Willard V. King, Rufus B. von Klein Smid, Henry Dendahl, James F. Zimmerman and Lyman Bryson. The following were re-elected members of the Board for four years: Herbert C. Clark of San Francisco; Henry Dendahl, C. T. Currelly of the Royal Ontario Museum of Toronto, Canada; Frederick W. Hodge of the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles; Judge C. M. Botts of Albuquerque; James G. McNary of McNary, Arizona, and Cyrus McCormick.

After the meeting, a color film, showing in detail every step in Pueblo pottery making, was shown on the screen. The film was taken at San Ildefonso after the most careful preparation, the sequence taking days, by John L. Wallace, a noted scenarist and art photographer. It is now the possession of the School and copies are to be made and distributed for educational purposes. Those who were privileged to view the film pronounce it the finest that has come to their notice. Films of other Indian and Mexican handicrafts are to be produced together with sound records describing the various steps in the handicrafts pictured.—P.A.F.W.

BELEN SESQUI-CENTENNIAL—This summer the parish of Our Lady of Belen (N. Mex.) celebrated the 150th anniversary of its founding. As an enduring memento of the occasion, Bro. Andrew Hayes, O.S.M., prepared a twenty-

eight page brochure, quarto size, well written and beautifully illustrated.

Very fittingly the publication is dedicated to those of the parish who are in the armed forces of our country—and the parish honor-roll fills two pages with the names of four who have made the supreme sacrifice and 288 who are now serving.

Near the close is another honor-roll, showing the complete list (except for the years 1806-9 where the records are missing) of all missionaries and pastors from 1793 to 1943. It is very evident that this little parish history was a labor of love.—L.B.B.

ERRATA

Page 90, note 88, line 8, *read* it was thought

Page 100, line 18, *for* iii *read* lii

Page 105, line 12 from bottom, *for* have *read* has

Page 222, line 11, *for* Raynolds *read* Reynolds

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